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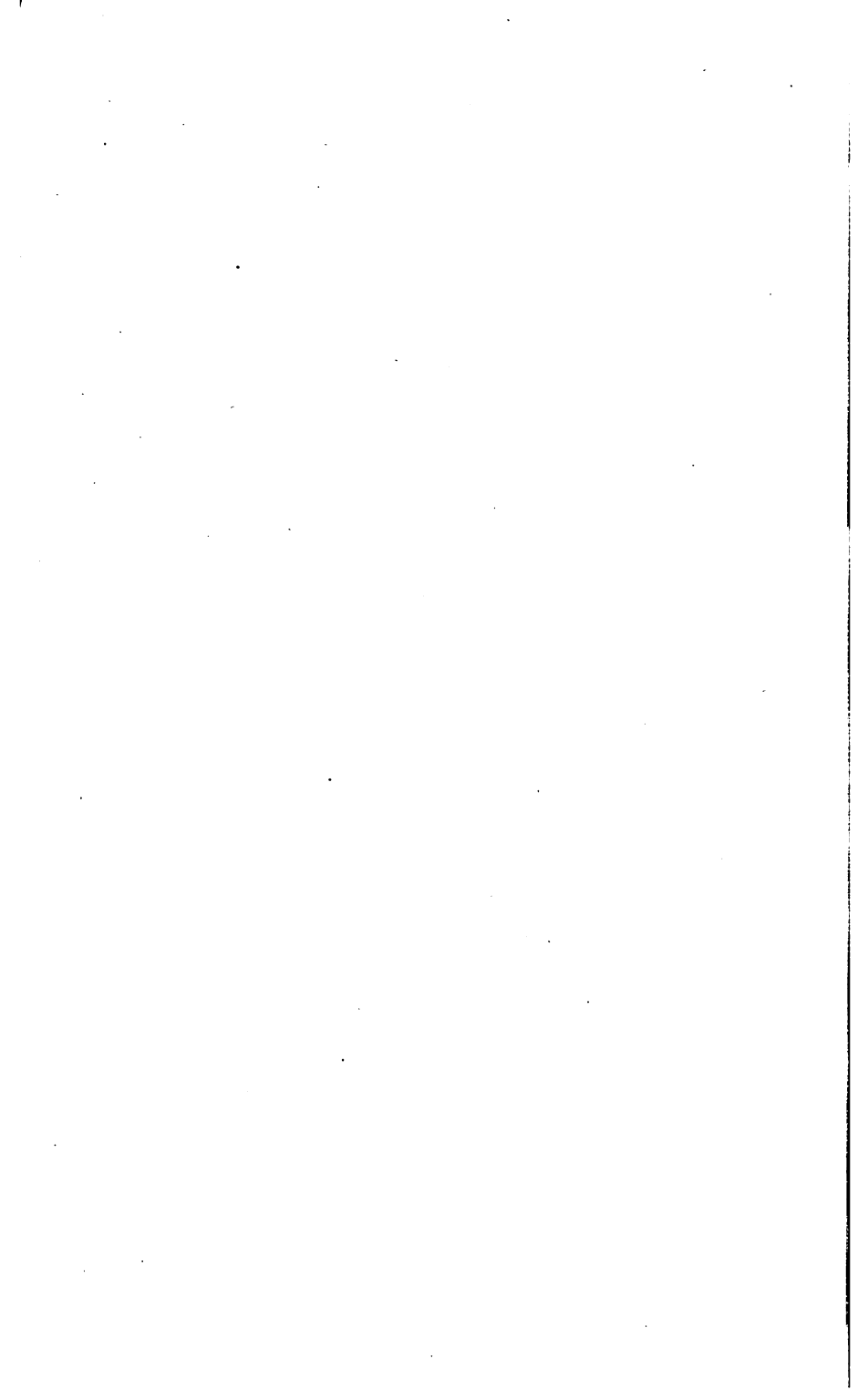


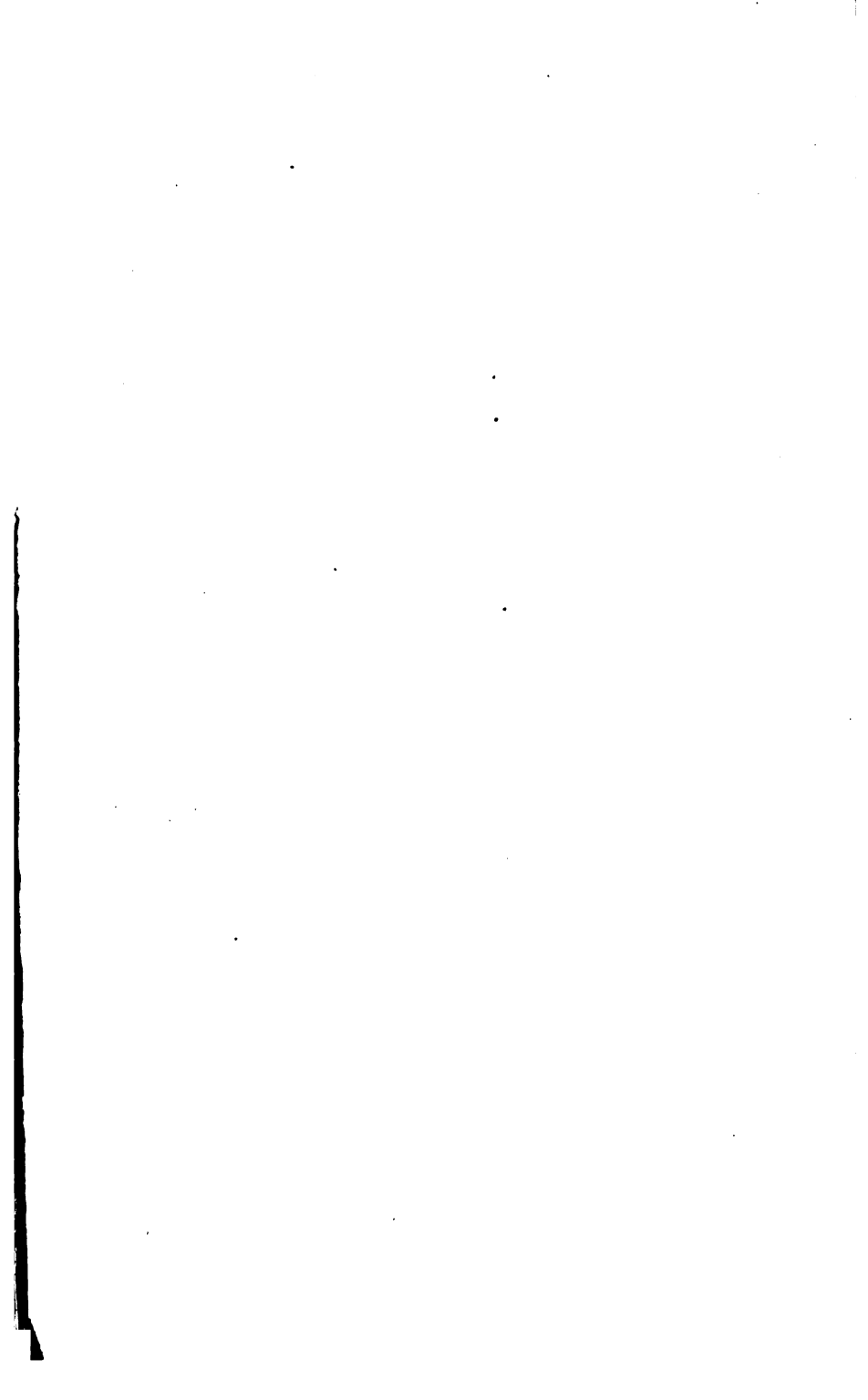
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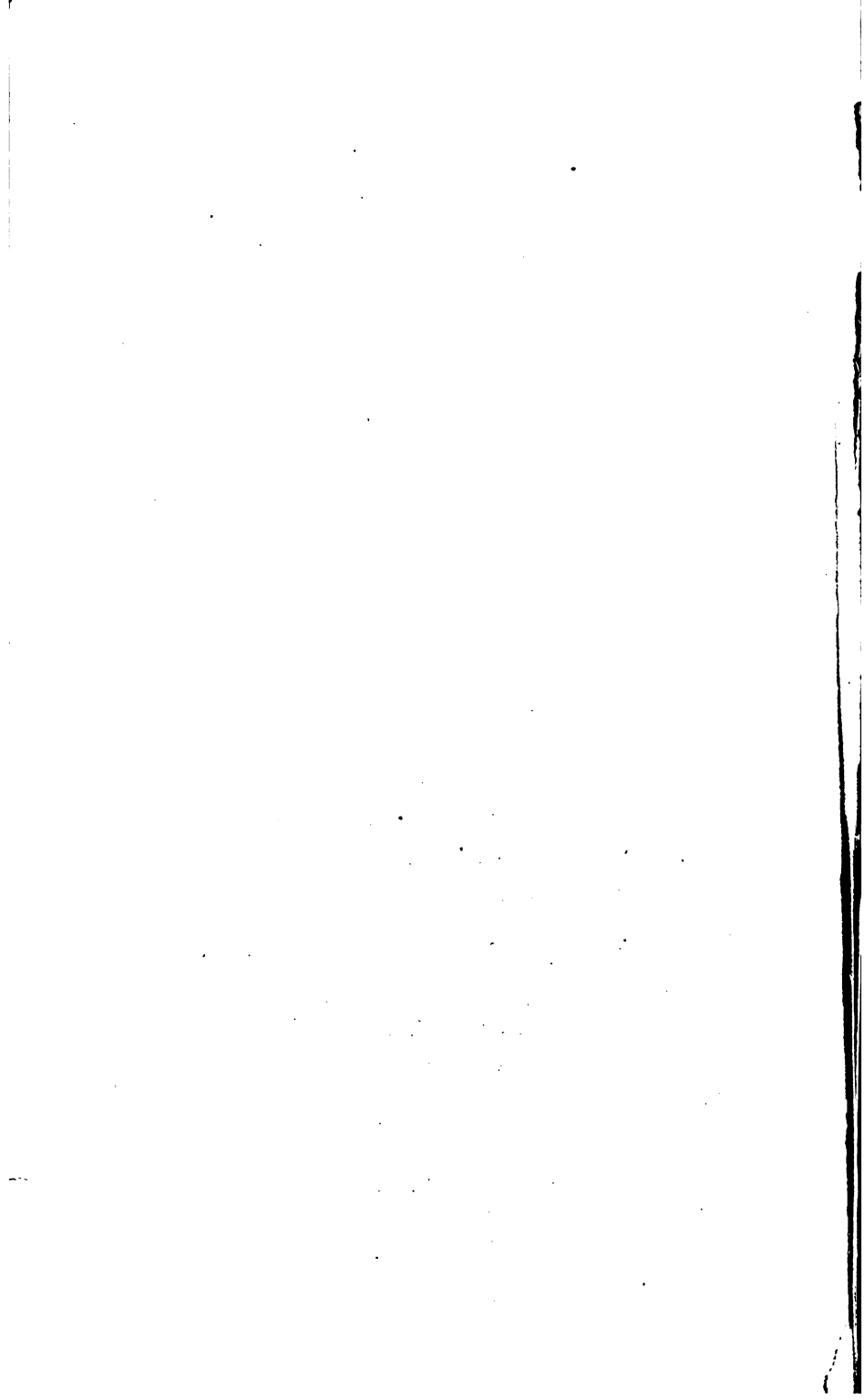


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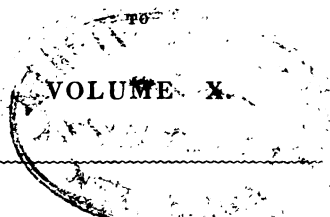
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THE ANALYST.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF ENGLISH LIBERTY.

“A mighty pomp, though made of little things.”—DRYDEN.

THERE was a time when the English mode of government was spoken of as a model for a republic; and the liberty and prosperity which distinguished that people were attributed solely to that spirit of wisdom which pervaded the laws and statutes of their constitution. This period passed away, and was succeeded by another tone of opinion, which found, or affected to find, in the constitution, defects of such a grave character as to generate a suspicion of the importance of that liberty which could not stand the test of impartial investigation. Thus unbounded admiration was succeeded by extravagant deprecation. Many of its most graceful features had, in consequence of the new scrutiny to which it had been subjected, been overlooked in the grand volume of the constitution; and the examiners appear not to have been aware that those defects which they supposed they had discovered, might possibly be more the effect of their own false position and incorrect point of view, than truly pertaining to the system before them.

It may appear strange, yet it is nevertheless a fact, that the people of England were not aware of the excellence and value of their constitution, until it was pointed out to them by a foreigner. It is true that they always spoke of the authors of that imperishable work with the utmost respect and veneration; yet it appears that their praises were bestowed in the inverse ratio to the superficiality of their acquaintance with the principles contained therein. There was, however, a lustre and nobility of feeling which dictated this praise: it was the soul, the spirit of patriotism, which, presupposing the perfec-

tion of its code, drew their attention away from a critical examination of its merits. Thus it was reserved for that foreigner to unfold before the world the singular merits and benefits of the English Constitution ; and so skilfully has he performed his task, as to attract the gaze of the whole of Europe to that wonderful specimen of legislation. The appearance of De Lolme's book created a great sensation throughout Europe (with the exception of the English, who scarcely noticed it) ; and the best spirits of the age were at once awakened and stimulated to a higher order of investigation and enquiry on that topic.

Impartial and critical examination generally leads to the discovery of defect. Thus it was with that constitution in question, the admiration of which was greatly qualified by the cool analysis and discussion of its merits occasioned by the appearance of De Lolme's works. But the source from whence arose that light which most effectually broke up the ancient spell which encircled the English code, was the questions arising out of the American war. The most experienced and talented statesmen of the age concurred in lamenting the adoption of those measures which the ministry of that day pursued against America, and which tended to involve the constitution in a mist of ambiguity and uncertainty with regard to public right. The essential conditions, also, which were about that time introduced into the common law—such as the endowment of the judges with a broader degree of independence ; by abolishing the use of *general warrants* during the legal proceedings against Wilkes ; and the tampering with the natural duties of jurymen, which took place under the ministry of Fox, with regard to their verdicts—plainly shewed that the constitution was many a wide degree from perfection. The true character of the English Constitution was not misunderstood by the transatlantic Englishmen ; on the contrary, experience had placed in bold relief full before their eyes its many defective points, and its harsh outline of ancient Norman manners and customs. The Americans, then, with such a picture before them, and stimulated by an ardent spirit of liberty, found not much difficulty in framing a constitution more in accordance with the principles of general freedom than the one existing in the mother country.

Strictly logical maxims, and profound theories laid down in politics, it is well known, fall far short of their mark in application to practical life ; and well they may : for what human power, however extensive and far-seeing, can contrive so perfect a range of policy as to fall in and blend with the numerous chances, accidents, and circum-

stances, which are ever arising ; and the annoyance and frustration of the deeply-concocted schemes of the wise theorists ? At no period of the history of civilization was the truth of this so evident, as at the time when the Constituent Assembly of France attempted the propagation of the American principles of liberty in their country. A great number of talented and influential men at the head of the government seemed resolved upon improving the liberal statutes of their neighbours ; and thus to make up, by precipitate reform and innovation, what they lost in time. The fruit of their zeal was a series of the most profound and brilliant enquiries respecting the conditions of national liberty ; and the proposed constitution which they had built up from those acute logical researches was, in point of theory, a closer approximation to perfection than even the far-famed English Constitution itself. And although it was stifled at its birth by subsequent revolutionary agitations, which even threatened to overthrow the English Constitution, it will ever remain in history a lasting monument of human sagacity and profound political philosophy. The English Constitution, like the gnarled yet majestic oak, braving at various periods many political storms, has stood its ground, and maintained its stately position, for more than six centuries ; while the new French code, raised, as it were, by a sudden stroke of magic, in all the gorgeousness of modern splendour, was from the commencement at the mercy of a suddenly emancipated and whimsical multitude, who destroyed it before they knew what had fallen beneath their sacrilegious hands. It is a fact that when Louis XVIII. introduced at last a constitutional government into France formed from the model of the English, it was not that constitution, nor its statutes of liberty, which took the attention of surrounding countries and of Europe, but the sound oratory and eloquence which flowed from the French rostrum.

In England, they seem to be in possession of liberty without troubling themselves with the why or the wherefore, or in the least meddling with motives and principles. In France, the favourite employment of the politician is to reiterate elementary principles ; in England, they discuss practical points. In France, the orator and journalist throw off brilliant sentences on the principles of liberty and the organization of society, which deservedly places them, in point of philosophical oratory, far above the English.

All inventions in the arts, sciences, mechanics, and industry, are, originally, confined to those requirements concerning which the people of that particular age have become anxious and unanimous. Per-

fection and refinement are only the effects of observation, and reflection on the moving principles, and, lastly, on the examination of the due correspondence between cause and effect, with regard to the practical application of those inventions. When we have arrived at that point of perfection which, bearing the stamp of sound theory, and, at the same time, answering all the purposes of practical application, we are as apt to neglect the repetition of the elementary principles, just as we were, a little before, but ill-disposed to recapitulate the rough mechanical effects in the early state of the invention. Bacon very happily characterises that progressive state of human development. The first steps toward advance in civilization, which constitutes the deduction, derived from pure experience, are thus styled by him, *axiomata infima*: they are the points of direction, arising rather from physical than mental activity, and constitute the first conditions of the organization of society, and are more or less in possession of the most savage people. The step which lies in the extreme opposite to the former is, the indulgence in theories and philosophical researches into abstract principles, apart from the beaten tract of practice. This course is generally and zealously adopted by those nations who, having advanced considerably on the high path of civilization, and not immediately encumbered with difficulties, are not pressed by necessity, or stimulated by a power of a more practical turn. Such theorists, having so little of practical ballast (if we may be permitted the expression) in their composition, soar away from the earth into the clouds of metaphysical obscurity, scarcely short of utter unintelligibility; yet we must do them justice, and admit that their abstract exertions are doubtless manifestations of noble and reflecting minds, although their efforts are hardly productive or useful for practical life itself. *Suprema et generalissima rationalia sunt et abstracta et nil habent solidi*. It is only those axioms which unite theory with practice, like vitality with matter, that lead on directly to consummation in the various branches of human knowledge and practical life: they are the *axiomata media, vera et solida et viva, in quibus humanæ res et fortunæ sitæ sunt*.

"All this is understood by itself with us," observed Sir J. Mackintosh to Mons. de Stael, in reply to the admiration which the latter expressed at a very philosophical essay which had just then appeared at Paris, on the principles of constitutional liberty. A similar answer might have been uppermost in the mind of Napoleon, although, perhaps, he might not have deemed it prudent to utter the same. In reply to the eulogy bestowed by the writers of the day on the merits

of the consular constitution, which they placed far above those of the English, "You might do better with less theoretical merits and more practical liberty, of which you do not possess the tenth part of the English," he might have thought, on reading the panegyrics.

In 1789 the French rejected the constitution which was offered to them by Louis XVI on the 23rd of June, because they considered its provisions defective; yet twenty-five years afterwards they accepted, with gratitude, one, in many essential points, still more faulty. Ever restless and theorizing, the French began, in 1814, a new apprenticeship of political speculation, under the difficulties of a triple load of taxation, compared with that of the year 1789. No administration was afterwards more suitable to their actual wants and national necessities than that of Richlieu, Decayes, and Martignac, who, with firmness sufficient to maintain their ground, or at least to prevent them from receding, were yet not bold enough to strike out any decided line of advance. Yet they were dismissed in favour of declared opponents to national liberty, for no other reason but that they did not act up to general and theoretical principles which, however perfect in themselves, were not calculated to work in harmony with the circumstances and spirit of the age. Again, in 1828, so deeply the airy notions of theory had eaten into their minds, that when one of the most important, secure, and unequivocal guarantees of national liberty was offered to them, in the introduction of the municipal laws, it was rejected with disdain because it was not *more complete*.

Nor were the English at all times free from this, perhaps, natural predilection for political abstract theory. Their political writers of the seventeenth century exercised it, as the French do now their intellectual capacities, in investigating and establishing subtle and profound philosophical principles, wholly regardless of their consistency with practical application; and they escaped the fatal consequences of losing the substance by catching at the shadow, only by the simple harmlessness of Richard Cromwell, the thoughtlessness of Charles II, and the impetuous temper of James, his brother.

Ultimately, however, this speculative spirit subsided, and was succeeded by a more sober tone, the growth of a more practical habit of reflection and experience. Men gradually became aware that theory and practice were two distinct terms, and they gently relaxed their addiction to the former in favour of the latter; while, satisfying themselves with a more homely and useful course of study, and surrendering their ideal notions of perfection, they disdained not to take advantage of the immediate state of affairs by which they were surrounded,

and, applying their wisdom to the reform, the change, or amendment of their constitution, took as their guide the circumstances and the wants of the age, in the midst of which it was their destiny to live. No Englishman who is at all acquainted with the history and constitution of his country will ever believe that the far-famed English liberty forms a part of his undoubted birthright; nor will he be so blind as to consider it as a patrimony descended to him, in its present form, through a long series of generations. No: on the contrary, those who can bestow a cool and scrutinizing attention to the merits and the rise and progress of their noble constitution, will not fail to perceive that, like the massive rock, its base, its heart, and summit, were not framed by one sudden stroke of creative power, but that its majestic growth had been nourished and consolidated, by the action of generally imperceptible influences, throughout the course of many centuries. The origin and guarantee, then, of English liberty, must be sought in general circumstances rather than the wisdom of legislatures; and it must, also, be apparent that the forms and provisions of the constitution are more to be considered the effect than the cause of that liberty. Indeed, we meet with frequent instances which evidently show that the spirit of liberty never failed to enlist under her pure-white banner the existing forms and laws of society, sometimes combatting with their aid, and not infrequently in despite of them.

The enthusiastic industry with which many political historians have searched, since Montesquieu, not only for the germs, but even for the fruit and forms of liberty in the forests of Germany, has some resemblance to that school of authors of the later period of the Roman Empire, who, ever since Plutarch, have vented their angry feelings against the order of things in which they lived by extolling the merits and the glory of the little republics of Greece. Their speculations might have proved harmless if they had not now and then overstepped the confines of school learning and theories, and attempted to apply them to immediate and practical life, after the manner of Herault-Secheller, who entered into a disquisition of the laws of Crete when the question was of those of his own country.

It appears that the Saxon, like all the other Germanic tribes at the time of the emigrating of nations, possessed among them, as regards their social life, those *axiomata infima*, the first rude rules of experience, which the wants and pressure of necessity never fail to force upon a people in the earlier and crude period of their congregation. Moreover, they doubtless possessed also many regulations susceptible of improvement and refinement. But their constitution

formed not the guarantees of general and national, but of individual liberty ; the liberty of the owners and proprietors of land and manor, to the injury of those who could not boast of such possessions, and who were, in their inferior state of bondage and servitude, scarcely a grade differing from that of real slaves. It is probable that the states-right of the Saxons was more congenial with the spirit of the people of that day than we suspect, and it may have worked well within its limited sphere ; but it was by no means calculated for a more extended range of society, or capable of sustaining more noble purposes. How little value the Saxons themselves set even on those statutes which were capable of improvement and application to a wider fabric of society, is clearly evident from the facility and willingness with which they exchanged them for more despotic ones : a circumstance which can be explained only by the casualty to which those regulations owed their existence, and in which the moral conviction of their validity was far from participating. Their elective offices were easily converted into hereditary rights ; and the previous equality of the landholders gave way by a series of services, as required from them by the feudal system, to foreign as well as private privileges. The Anglo-Saxon chiefs who came over to England at the head of their own retinue, had, it would appear, as the victorious lords of the conquered aborigines, but little cause to trouble themselves with the introduction of new laws into the subdued provinces other than those of their own country, so favourable to their individual personal rights. Historians and antiquarians have long disputed about the nature and spirit of the constitution which the Anglo-Saxons introduced into the new countries founded by them. All parties seem to build their surmises on the strange supposition that slavery, originating in an early stage of civilization, ought not to yield to the civilization of succeeding ages ; or that *liberty* cannot be constituted a right, if its historical origin cannot be proved. It is evident, from the least disputed facts in history—such, for instance, as the vast power which the landholders possessed over their servants, bondsmen, and the few inhabitants of towns, the total absence of a middle class in society, the little respect that was paid to existing laws, and, finally, the incessant commotions and agitations which divided and distracted the provinces—it is evident, we say, when all the circumstances are distinctly considered, that the Anglo-Saxon constitution was either originally of an oligarchical character, or had at least, in the course of time, degenerated into one.

The Anglo-Saxon liberty, if any such ever existed, might have

resembled, in some measure, the so-called German liberty of later ages, which was the privilege merely of a few individuals of high rank and large possessions, during the session of the Diet, of which they were members. That the civil rights of Englishmen are entirely different from similar baronial privileges, and, moreover, are not even connected with the latter, or even of Anglo-Saxon origin, may be inferred, and with some degree of certainty, from the course of the march of that people through the British Islands. It is known that the military colonization of the Anglo-Saxons had extended so far as the foot of the Scottish Highlands; whilst the Normans carried their conquests no farther than the limits of the present England. Supposing, then, that the traditions of British liberty had their origin in the Anglo-Saxon policy, it is reasonable to expect that we might find them in the most unfalsified form in the Lowlands of Scotland, where the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons, although surrounded by numerous populations of Danes, still preserved their race independent and unmixed, compared with those of the other provinces, and where the present native language had been early and generally cultivated and perfected.* Yet what is the fact? Why, that those faint traces of early liberty which occasionally appear to the historical investigator, are found, not in that country, as might have been expected from the above mode of reasoning, but, on the contrary, in those districts where Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, were most closely cast together, and their habits and customs mixed and amalgamated by intimate intercourse. The truth is, in no other country was the feudal system more severely and rigidly in action against the people and their kings, than in Scotland. In no country were the parliament, the jury, and the judges, in so loose and precarious a condition, and less guided by established laws and provisions, than in Scotland. Traces of those defects are still found in the constitution of the Scottish courts of justice and of juries. Indeed, there is but one opinion among the best informed men in Scotland: namely, that all the truly beneficial principles and provisions of liberty were not imported into England from Scotland, but, on the contrary, from the former into the latter country.

Be this as it may, thus much is certain, that all traces of early liberty in England, if any such ever did exist, must have vanished on the appearance of the first Norman princes; for we find in those times

* Sir W. Scott, in his introduction to "Sir Tristram," a national romance of the thirteenth century.

that the mandate of the king, countersigned by his council, was considered as positive law.* Should, however, there really be a period when the first germs of British liberty could be historically substantiated, doubtless, it would be that of the feudal system, as introduced by the Norman conquest, which was followed up with more severity, and on a more extensive scale, than in any other country of Europe; which subjected to the immediate royal authority indiscriminately, more or less, all classes of society, the most humble not excepted, by which—as is still evident from the expressions and forms of English jurisprudence and its penal code—*vassalage* and *submission* were placed in one and the same category: and which united, under the focus of royal supremacy, all the classes of society which were hitherto divided in an infinite number of inimical and contending parties, and thus securing the individual right by the protection of the whole mass.

In English history we meet with numerous instances of regulations and laws which may be traced from that period, bearing, in fact, a striking resemblance to those provisions which served afterwards as the basis of the English constitution: yet we may search in vain, even for several centuries after the Norman conquest, for traces of anything like a system or plan in those laws, which owe, in reality, their existence merely to chance and accident, rather than to the wisdom and sagacity of their authors, who, it is more than probable, were not at all aware of the merits and importance of their random, and often thoughtless enactments. Whether it be advisable, in point of education, that children should commit to memory *words* at an early stage of infancy, when their understanding is, as yet, not sufficiently developed to catch the true signification, is a question which, perhaps, is out of order here; yet it is true that *nations* are educated on that same plan. History tells us that all of them have learned the most important truths first by *heart*, and afterwards only by the palpable import of their sense and spirit. With all infant nations the *word* preceded the *thought*, and the form the solution of the problem; and it is only with the aid of this observation that we are enabled to account for many contradictory points in the early history and institutions of nations.

A remarkable instance of such contradictions is evident from the history of England, at a period when other nations were in a deep lethargy as regards civilization. So dull and stagnated were the moral and political conditions of the people of surrounding countries, that

* Sir Henry Spelman, "In verbo: *judicium Dei*."

their contemporary history presents to the student but a lifeless and uninteresting blank : and future historians will be obliged to have recourse to the annals of England, as was formerly the case with ancient Greece and Rome, as a guide to the delineation of European history during that long and dark period.

"It is ridiculous," says Hume, in his Autobiography, "to acknowledge a regular law of liberty in the English Constitution previous to the times of the Stuarts." This great historical work is, in fact, only a development of that notion : yet Brodie and others seem to have mistaken him ; for when he asserts a fact, namely, that the arbitrary and despotic acts which so enraged the English people of that period had nothing novel or peculiar in their character, but that they were merely a repetition and continuation of those arbitrary and certainly criminal practices which had been perpetrated, during the course of many centuries, by preceding English monarchs, those writers actually charge him with partiality in favour of the house of Stuart. Hume never intended to intimate that there was no such thing as fixed laws with regard to national liberty ; for the very laws mentioned in the *petition of right* in 1627 were more than sufficient to belie such an assertion : all he meant was, that no respect was paid to those laws by the princes, and certainly in this he only stated the melancholy truth. The monarchs never suffered the Magna Charta to stand in the way of their propensities ; on the contrary, they hesitated not to follow their inclinations in the very teeth of, and open violation of, its provisions. If they occasionally acknowledged the national right, it was more the consequence of the pressure of necessity than of any thing like a moral respect for national institutions. Neither the Plantagenets, nor the Tudors, nor the Stuarts, ever dreamed of any thing like submission to national law, or of checking their arbitrary and illegal acts, until compelled by opposition and national remonstrance. More than two centuries elapsed before the *petition of rights* was followed by the *bill of rights*. A single glance at the constitution, and the history and connexion of its component parts with one another, as well as with the general object, will convince us that their rise and progress originated in accident.

Civil right, though it is generally ranked, because a *private* right, far below that of the *political* or *public* right, forms, nevertheless, such an essential foundation and condition of the benefits to be derived from the latter, that it cannot but occupy the first rank in that point of view. The *common* law of the Anglo-Saxons, like all the Germanic tribes, was nothing more than a right of *customs*, arraigning every accused

individual before the bar of a certain number of *peers*, that is, of men of his own condition, occupying the same rank as himself in society. The promulgation of the feudal system changed that state of affairs only in so far as to convert the right of the *people* into that of the *court*; and while it was formerly required that the judges should share with the accused an equality in social rank and condition, it was now requisite that that quality should chiefly refer to the conditions of that species of service which they were called on to perform for the benefit of the crown. But the chief and essential changes which the law in itself underwent, were mainly attributable to the reforms which took place among the mass of the people, generating in external circumstances and the spirit of the age, and particularly through the exertions of the ecclesiastics, partly by alienating those customs which were originally simple and intelligible to all the members of society at large, from the common comprehension of the people, by investing them with a sort of scientific mist and accompanying jargon, and subjecting them to a sort of systematic study far beyond the understanding of the populace, who henceforth scarcely knew the meaning of the new forms and terms which had been introduced; and partly, and chiefly, by actually suppressing those popular customs in favour of the more scientific *Roman law*, the revival of which suited better the tastes and interests of those dignitaries.

Until the Norman conquest, the duties of judges and lawyers had devolved upon the Saxon monks, who studied and taught in the cloisters. At this period the foreign ambassadors introduced among their retinue the first civilians into England. Thobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, imported several of this order, and among them Roger Vacarioces, the first teacher of the Roman law at Oxford. The laymen here, as in other parts of England, protested at first against the new law, and King Stephen, who was anxious to reconcile the people to his usurpation of the crown by conciliatory measures, interdicted the Roman law. At the assembly at Merton, where the clergy moved the sanction of the Roman law by which illegitimate children may become legitimate after the marriage of their parents, the barons declared positively that the customary laws of the country should not be in the least infringed or changed; and a hundred years afterwards the parliament manifested the same spirit, and repeated the same bold declaration, adding that "England shall never be ruled by foreign laws." In this instance the clergy might, as in most others, have prevailed, but for their own imprudence. In this affair, their wonted patience and perseverance forsook them; believing themselves to be entirely indis-

pensable in the administration of judicial affairs, they imprudently took offence at the opposition which had been made to their measure, and withdrew in ill humour from the field of controversy, thus, leaving to the laymen full scope and leisure to follow up their advantage. Thus, turning their backs in spite on their opponents, they lost their judicial position, which they never after recovered. Under the reign of Henry III, episcopal mandates were issued, which interdicted the clergy from occupying themselves in future with secular lawsuits; while, at the same time, Innocent IV prohibited them from reading, even as mere profane works, the laws of the country. The non-interference of the clergy was further secured by the regulations in the Magna Charta, which Henry III at last set in full practice, to the effect that the secular judges were no longer to wander about, and follow the steps of the royal camp and periodic residences, but were henceforth to hold their sittings at a certain fixed place in Westminster. The teachers and pupils of the common law, who were excluded from the ecclesiastical institutions at Oxford and Cambridge, established, in consequence, judicial colleges for themselves, called, as yet, the inns of court and of chancery, modelled after the ecclesiastical ones, and privileged to confer titles and certain academical degrees on distinguished members. Both parties maintained for a long time their opposition, with equal success. Wherever the influence of the clergy found access, as in the universities, and even in the courts of war and admiralty, the Roman and canonical laws were prevalent; whilst in the various courts of Westminster the common law alone was practised.

Thus we find England, as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century governed by two species of legislation, entirely alien to each other, both in form and substance. The frequent clashing of these in spirit, argument, and decision, soon gave rise to a *third* species of legislation; and from the deficiencies which were soon discovered to exist in the practice of the common law, emendations and reforms were introduced.

The common law, based on prevailing customs, usages, and opinions, as long as its explanation and application were in the hands of unlearned judges, must be considered as a sort of progressive legislation, containing in itself the seeds of its reform and completion, and rendering all other legislative contrivances for the conduct of civil life superfluous. Every case in litigation received a judicial decision, bearing the stamp and spirit of the then predominant custom and opinion, reducing all the judgments to a subserviency to the spirit of the time, and justly deserving the appellation of a continual and infinite revelation of

reason. But, contrary to the true and mutable spirit of the common law, an attempt was made to harden and mould it into fixedness, to prevent its moving with, and adaptation to, the temporal circumstances of the age, and to set the *past* as an immaculate and unchangeable criterion and guide for the *present* and the *future*. The barbarous nations, when they settled in the provinces of the Eastern empire, began to collect and write down in a book their customary laws; and in so doing, yet perhaps with a good intent, they perpetuated an injury and a curse upon society. Like the child, who walled and fenced and protected its beloved flower from what it thought the rude and boisterous atmosphere, and thus reduced it to a stunted weakly thing, while its friendless fellow grew alone, inhaling the sweet fresh air, the brilliant sunshine, and the cooling showers, flourished forth in full-developed beauty; so the recorders of those customary laws, ignorant of the tendencies of their act, and not at all aware of the true nature of those customary laws they were recording, which, in fact, should be left, like the flower, to the ever-changing yet genial atmosphere of existing circumstances, tampered with and spoiled the beautiful flexibility of their spirit, by fixing it within the hard and drying influence of their proper protection.

In England, Alfred was the first who collected the customs of the country into the so-called *Dome Book*, which was extant in the time of Edward IV, but is now lost. Edward the Confessor caused to be made another, yet larger collection, the oldest groundwork of the present common law; and had the plan of making those written records and collections been steadily followed up, it could but have added effect to the pre-eminence of the Roman law, when compared with the rude efforts of uncivilized nations in the art of positive legislation. Happily for the fate of the common law, the Norman princes cared little concerning the records of customs which were not part and parcel of their policy, and which were not objects of interest to conquerors in general. The common law then gained some respite from further mischievous tampering by sheer neglect.

The impulse which had now been given to the art, if we may so express ourselves, of popular order, and which spread to, and enlarged the view of, judicial affairs and transitory customs, had its effect by imperceptibly transforming those customs into positive laws, and thus erecting a beacon for the guide of similar litigant cases in future ages. A series of those prejudications were officially recorded by the prothonotaries of the several courts, from the reign of Edward until Henry VIII, and afterwards, under James I, at the suggestion of Lord

Bacon, by particular recorders appointed to the task. These annual records formed at length the source, the fountain-head, of common law ; which formed, in the course of time, receptacles of such breadth and depth as at once to defy the most indefatigable and indomitable mind, even though coupled with an insatiable thirst for knowledge and exploration.

The evil was still further augmented by the formality of the proceedings, which were maintained in strict accordance with ancient usage, and in the teeth of the altered spirit of the age. The forms and expressions, too, of the litigant parties, as regards the petitions of the latter and the judicial decisions, naturally of a narrow character, from the comparatively barbarous times in which they had their origin, and when there was scarcely any other property save the soil, and no other important branch of industry than agriculture, were yet further contracted by the introduction of the feudal system, and crippled down and narrowed in order to accord with the limited state of social intercourse. It may be naturally supposed that, with the increase of civilization, and with the growth of a trading and mercantile intercourse, and, above all, after the abolition of the feudal system, that such antiquated forms must have clashed with the expanding spirit of new affairs, or at least have been neutralized into a dead letter. In some degree, thus it was. The judges, lawyers, and parties themselves, were obliged to invent new names and means in order to facilitate in some degree the march of the new order of affairs ; and in some instances the wisdom of these people was curiously displayed, particularly in the disposal and transfer of landed property. In this instance, a sort of learned comedy was played ; new difficulties and involvements were generated, which rendered proceedings still more tedious. A sort of pedantic, juridical faction, now formed the base of a legislation from which the spark of life had fled. No wonder that the lack of forms suitable to the real character of affairs constituted one of the main obstacles to the distribution of justice with regard to the common law.

Thus in the same manner, and from the same cause, as the Pretorian jurisdiction was transformed at Rome into a peculiar species of legislation, was the judicial authority of the lord chancellor in England converted into a new and particular kind of legislation, called *equity*, the court of which extends its jurisdiction over all those civil affairs of the realm which are of a modern origin, and for which the ancient form of the common law could not have provided : such as insolvencies which required a judicial investigation ; the care to be

taken of the person and property of individuals of nonage and insane mind; and, finally, all those commercial transactions for which no provisions are found in the common law, and which all fall under the jurisdiction of the *court of equity*, as a third species of legislation, also provided with peculiar regulations and forms.

Considering, then, the casualty to which the civil laws owe their introduction and formation, it may not be unreasonable to doubt whether the *jury*, the far-famed pillar of the English liberty, be really the true image of the ancient Germanic popular courts. This much is certain, that, long after the conquest, the juries were greatly limited and neglected, and that the mode of settling disputes by judicial single combat was very much preferred. The expression, also, in the twenty-ninth chapter of the Magna Charta, which was generally considered as referring to the confirmation of the jury, or rather its jurisdiction, and by which no freeman can be endangered in goods and person except *per legale iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terræ* (by the decision of his peers and the laws of the country)—that expression, we say, has such a striking resemblance to that used by the Emperor Conrad II, about two centuries previously, in securing to his Italian inferior vassals the inviolate and perpetual possession of their benefices (*nemo beneficium suum perdat nisi secundum consuetudinem antecessorum nostrorum et per iudicium parium suorum*.—L. L. Longab., l. iii.; Tit., ii., i., 4), that it may be fairly questioned whether the jurisdiction of the jury was at all the subject of consideration. And if we add to it the remarkable circumstance that the exertions—or, as we may now term it, the spirit of the age—of the feoffees of that period consisted chiefly in securing their independence against the encroachments of their superiors, and, further, that it was the *feoffees* who extorted the Magna Charta from King John, it is more than probable that the above expression refers to the irrevocability of the granted benefices (as those by the Emperor Conrad in Italy), rather than to aught pertaining to the jury, its privileges, or functions.

Perhaps, if construed in that more probable sense, the jury might be nothing else than the continuation of that mode of judicial proceeding which was current when the courts of fees existed, and when the accused was judged by his peers. That mode of proceeding, however, soon sunk into oblivion in those countries where the feudal system was not of so comprehensive a character, and only included under its rule the nobles and other important subjects; whilst it could but serve as the basis of a progressive and lasting institution of liberty in a country like England, where, as we have already stated, the feudal system rami-

fied throughout the whole kingdom, taking in and subjugating the whole mass, from the noble to the peasant; and the royal courts of fees were, from the beginning (Wales and the Isle of Man alone excepted), the only tribunals in the country which extended their immediate authority to all classes of society in all secular affairs.

Thus were formed three peculiar kinds of legislation, which extended their jurisdiction to certain distinct and well-defined branches in practical life; at the same time they were, and had been during many centuries, hinged upon, and subject to, the will of the monarch. The throne, which was regarded in England as the source of justice, was, at the same time, and truly in a less figurative sense, the source, also, of a most unlimited arbitrary power, the growth, or rather the abuse, of an ancient custom, arising, as we have before observed, from the most widely-spread and absolute system of feudalism in the world. Even to this present moment there is no perfect allodial property in England, and the king is still styled the *lord paramount* of the country. It was only under Charles II (by the statute 12th of Car. II, c. 24), in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that the oppressive conditions and drudgeries attached to landed property, by the rules of the ancient feudal system, were entirely abolished: a greater acquisition, says Blackstone, to the civil property of the kingdom, than even Magna Charta itself.

Notwithstanding the gradual accumulation of facts and experience as regards the customs or the laws of the country, the princes were but ill-disposed to respect any regulation which clashed with their individual interests, or thwarted their self-willed inclinations. The monarchs generally considered their rights of legitimacy more sacred, and of higher importance, than the customs or the established laws of the land. The first prince who showed a disposition to observe those laws which had been extorted from himself and his predecessors was Henry III, in whose reign, also, and records, first appeared the clause *non obstante*, by which means he and his successors at once acknowledged and violated the laws. *Letters of protection*, also, and mandates of various kinds, impeded or regulated the course of justice; and the repeated contrivances which were resorted to for the purpose of meeting that abuse plainly indicated the extent to which it had been carried, and the futility of the attempts which were made to resist it. The first regulation which was intended to counteract this evil, was made in the reign of Edward I; but it is very doubtful whether he or his successors paid any respect to it. The great number of letters of protection issued

under Edward I gave rise, in the reign of Edward II, to loud clamours and complaints, which had the effect, in the second year of Edward III, of reducing them under the ban of illegality. Yet so closely had they become entwined with the practices of the age, and the interest of individuals, that they were not easily suppressed, but were to be met with even as late as the times of Queen Elizabeth.

The management of judicial affairs, which, under the immediate care of the crown or cabinet, was considered, in other countries, as a violent but transitory encroachment upon the established institutions of the state, constituted, in England, supreme and regular tribunals, which existed for centuries under the presidency of the lord high constable and commissioner of the star chamber. The equerry (constabularius), in the early domiciles of the Germanic tribes, might probably have been one of the elevated and favoured officers of the opulent landholders, who had to maintain an extensive retinue. As those possessors of the land increased their domains and their lordly power in the provinces of the Roman Empire, it is very likely that it suited their dignity, as well as convenience, to assign a portion of their newly-acquired territory for the support of these upper servants of their household, instead of maintaining them under the lordly roof, as was hitherto the case. Thus the first step was laid for their exaltation. Then came another remove: the landholder was changed into a *lord*, and, as a matter of course, his domestic retinue rose in rank with himself, particularly the upper servants, who now, doubtless, assumed the appearance of court officers, retaining their ancient names as a sort of title of honour; while the services attached to their offices were abandoned to inferior servants, coachmen, and other upper menials, who might, also, in their turn, have climbed upwards in dignity, had there been another Roman Empire to be conquered and plundered.

In the course of time, the office of constable assumed a very high and important station at court; for we find, at a certain period of history, that the household of the court, which in England meant neither more nor less than all the subjects of the king, were placed under his direct care and management. This *domestic discipline* soon assumed, in the camps of the conquering princes, the character of a *martial court*, which soon became consolidated in the single person of the *constable*, who then became invested with such a plenitude of dictatorial power as to be at once incompatible with all rational and peaceful purposes, and at the same time to give cause of serious alarm even to the princes themselves. Henry VIII, the most arbitrary monarch of England, at length abolished the office; yet he could not entirely sweep it away, it still clung like an un-

seemly anomaly to the judgment seat, even in times of peace ; nor did it did give way until the long outstanding account between the people and the crown was finally settled under Charles I.

The *star chamber* (at the side of which was afterwards established, for similar purposes in ecclesiastical affairs, the court of high commission) was the second tribunal which acted up to the will of the monarch, as manifested in the royal proclamation, rather than the dictates of the established law. Founded on ancient customs, it attained under Henry VII a sanction nearly akin to legal authority ; and under Henry VIII the parliament, after having assigned to the royal proclamations the same legal force as to parliamentary edicts, declared that henceforth nine councillors of the crown were to form a legitimate tribunal, the business of which should be, to decide on matters respecting the obedience or non-obedience to the royal proclamations.

In 1641 the star chamber was abolished, and with that establishment fell the privilege of the crown to govern by its own arbitrary will. If royal proclamations were occasionally issued, their actual enforcement depended on the views and opinion of the several judicial authorities, who were now guided by defined and positive laws.

The rights of supreme authority, conceded to the governments which were formed under the conquerors of the Roman Empire, in those countries which had been composed of its wreck, are of a different and various origin.

Royalty, among the ancient Germans, denoted a similar authority to that of the Scottish lairds over their clans, or of the Arabian sheiks over their Nomadian tribes, being no more than an extended order of that authority which the father or the patriarch holds over the members of his own family ; and so long as the wandering hordes were confined to their two ancient acceptations, the martial and the pastoral, they formed a closely-united society, held together by the most simple and direct links, and, accustomed to the broad fields and the open air, it was their practice to congregate at a public rendezvous, to receive the commands, and put themselves under the guidance of their chief or king. When civilization, however, progressed, and the roving tribes, finding themselves in undisturbed possession of pleasant and fertile domains, settled down into various trades and professions, and thus passed from their primitive condition, then royalty dwindled into a mere title of distinction. Agriculture especially tended to sever and dissolve the links which held together the tribes, and broke off and divided the mass into little independent communities, in separate districts and circles, under the

immediate chief of their own. These divisions with their chiefs, though still acknowledging the supreme authority of their *king*, whose face they seldom saw, and with whose distant residence they seldom came in contact, gradually became estranged, and silently, with the change of their own condition, revolutionized that of the monarch. The right of government, too, seems to have been little heeded, that is, in the present sense of the term ; for the generals of troops in times of war—the most eminent personages among the Germanic tribes, next to the king—were not chosen by the latter, but actually elected by the people from among the most worthy, though least *noted*, candidates.—(Reges et nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.—Tacit. *De Mor. Germ.*, c. 7).

The expeditions of the northern lords, commonly called the *emigrations of nations*, were, in fact, not so numerous and general as is usually believed ; and, further, they were not so much the affair of the nations, as of the chiefs who undertook such expeditions. Neither was the number which, in the first instance, marched from their country, large. The chiefs appear to have gone forth at the head of comparatively a few followers, but whose ranks were swelled, in the course of their progress, by a host of adventurous volunteers. Whoever the leader may have been, whether *princes* of the royal blood (as with the Franconians), or individuals elected from the midst of the people, this is certain, that the great bulk of the numbers which formed the expeditions consisted chiefly of the servants and dependents of the leaders ; since it can scarcely be supposed that the *freemen*—i. e. the landholders—would abandon their quiet possessions at home, and seek an uncertain fortune in foreign countries : a supposition which is even contradicted by the fact that the names of the modern nations which had settled in the subdued provinces of the ancient Roman Empire occurred also, for many subsequent centuries, in ancient Germany or Scandinavia ; a circumstance from which we may reasonably suspect of exaggeration those reports of the emigrations of the northern nations. The spoils of landed property which were made in these wars, and which were wrenched, in the provinces, either from private individuals or from the Roman fiscal, were divided, of course, among those invaders, in proportion to the part they took in the conquest, or rather to the number of warriors they brought into the field. Thus it happened that extensive estates fell to the lot of many a leader of these freebooters, over which they ruled in the ancient spirit of Germanic independence and right of landed property, almost as unlimited as the monarch himself ; and although the owners of minor estates were as independent within their territories as those of the more extensive ones, yet the influ-

ence and ascendency which the latter naturally gained by the superiority of wealth gradually led to their indirect control over the former. Amidst these circumstances, royalty sunk into a mere title, or at best maintained but a nominal authority. The rights of, or the power of commanding, forced services, taxes, and villainage, constituted the exclusive privilege of the owners of land. As regards the *king*, he certainly presided at the head of the freemen (owners of landed property), and was looked up to as the supreme head in all political and judicial affairs; but he had not the slightest power over the persons of any class of the people, nor could he enforce the simplest service of the humblest individual, unless that individual belonged to the circle of his own landed property (that is, if he possessed any), and merely in his simple capacity of a landholder or freeman. These two distinct lines of right and authority ran parallel to each other for a long period; and it thus happened that the advocates of opposite opinions respecting the social forms and principles of that early part of the middle ages—such as Dubos and Baulainvilliers—support their respective opinions with equal truth on facts apparently at variance with each other. The singular state of society at that early period, when extreme liberty on the one hand, with its licentious train of arbitrary power, was so strikingly contrasted by abject slavery, with its debasing concomitants, on the other, has involved the history of those times in such a depth of gloomy obscurity, as to baffle the industry of the most erudite investigator, not only as respects that particular period of time, but also as regards the real state of society in subsequent ages.

Such a state of things, bearing, as it were, a doubly opposite character, was not calculated to be of very long duration. Political freedom, which usually follows the standard of wealth, was at that time closely allied to landed property, the only species of wealth of importance; and so extensive was the power which these territorial possessions engendered for their owner, that it threatened to overwhelm, in one vast domination to the wealthy lords, all those freemen of minor allotments of land throughout the country.

The vast consequence which was now attached to the persons and the character of those extensive landholders, and the glitter and show of their establishment, as well as the wide range of their power, naturally generated a species of rivalry, which increased to open contention and jealousy among the numerous hosts of menials and dependents. These classes grew impatient with their condition, and yearned for a share of that property which in itself brought to its possessor so wide a range of power; and, for the purpose of lift-

ing themselves up to a level with their masters, issued forth as volunteers in new expeditions, in the hope of grasping some land, as their lords had done. Thus a sort of moral revolution occurred, and the landholders found themselves involved in its vortex; and though rich and powerful as far as the possession of wealth went, yet they could not fail of being convinced that their wealth and numbers were but as a breath of air compared with the physical strength of the host to which they were opposed. In this emergency, all parties were willing to appeal to the crown, which, as we have before observed, was looked up to at least as the nominal head in political and judicial affairs. Under these circumstances, the monarch, like the ancient Romans, soon transformed himself from an impartial judge into an arbitrary master, and so ordered his policy as to reduce, under the classification of nobles and peasants (freemen and slaves), the whole population to the condition of subjects to the crown. Thus the unwary multitude, in its negotiation with the nominal head of the realm, lost its actual independence; and the monarch, seizing the favourable opportunity, converted the *nominal* into *real* power, affecting at once public liberty in general. Henceforth the whole of the population was bound to perform service to the crown, according to their capacity, in times of war and peace; while the monarch swayed over the mass of the people, like the *Emperors* of old, in the full power of despotism, rendering all classes subservient to their will, converting the private right of a lord over his dependents into that of *government*, and palliating the services which the freemen were bound to perform by some gaudy title and distinction, which, in fact, only marked their degree of dependence on the crown, and the kind of service expected from them at court.

The origin of our modern social relations, as well as our pedigrees, are lost, certainly in darkness, not in the *clouds*, as some court chroniclers would have us believe; but rather in that *earthly mass* of the mother evil from which they sprung. The social ties of the middle ages were wrought by the hand of slavery and bondage; and the actual human nature of all classes, from the haughty liveried vassal of the crown down to the humble soccager, was indelibly stained and imprinted with the stamp of abject servitude.

The compass of the rights and privileges of the crown pointed still, despite their reforms, to the source from whence they sprung—to the immunity of landed property, and which contained in itself the germ of its own destruction. At that early period of civilization no notion was entertained as to the management of estates in distant countries, without disposing of them at once into other hands. Indeed, the control and regulation of distant estates was

not of easy accomplishment when the means of communication were so few and precarious; and even these were obstructed by the want of that vivifying principle of intercourse, a freely circulating coinage. A large estate was managed as a large piece of coin, by dividing and cutting it into little pieces for the various uses of minor import, and with still greater disadvantage in the prospect of yielding it up without the hope of ever repossessing it. For the distant estates which were conferred on distinguished individuals and favourites of the court, the crown received in return only a certain proportion of personal services—current pieces of coin scarcely being known at the time—which, when the value of landed property increased with the progress of civilization, must have been wholly inadequate and out of all proportion to the value received, to the great detriment of the crown, and increased pecuniary advantage of the landholder.

The pecuniary losses thus sustained by the crown were attended with yet greater grievances with regard to the royal influence in practical life generally; since all civil functions, commissions, and rights of administration of public affairs, were closely connected with the possession of private property, with which the favourites were invested by the crown. The monarch, then, as in all anterior as well as subsequent ages, after having given away his substance, and in fact the only means of sustaining his power, met from the individuals whom he had enriched, opposition, resistance, and protestations nearly on every occasion when the royal decrees clashed with their individual private interest. Thus the crown suffered materially by its bounty to its vassals, who, grown numerous and rich, and consequently powerful, were able to defy the comparatively poor monarch, whose fate, in many respects, resembled that of Shakspeare's Lear.

Neither the more arbitrary proceedings of granting benefices, as practiced by the Marovingians, nor the more regular mode of rewarding warriors by which Charles Martel laid the second and lasting foundation of the subsequent feudal system, and which Charlemagne vainly endeavoured to convert into a public affair by blending it with the ancient forms of the people—neither mode of proceeding was calculated to improve the domestic economy of the crown; on the contrary, these two dynasties, the Marovingian and Carolingian, grew so poor upon the throne that they were finally obliged, when nothing was left them but the crown, to yield it up to the richest and the most powerful of their own servants. The German kings and emperors, through the custom of investing strangers with their private property as soon as they were called to the throne,

divested themselves, at the same time, of the only means of sustaining their regal authority by substantial dignity and independent opulence, or of securing the throne to their descendents. Indeed, had this imprudent lavish custom of sacrificing their private property, been followed up by subsequent princes, Germanic Europe could never have assumed the appearance of union beyond that of a confederacy, or enjoyed more liberty than is common to a republican oligarchy.

A similar fate, arising from the same quarter, might have awaited the mass of the people from the development of the feudal system, had it not been for the revival of the Roman law, from which the doctrines of the *Regalia* were borrowed. By this means a new system of supreme authority was devised for the crown, the influence of which soon spread itself abroad throughout society, and into the very bosom of practical life.

It was at Bologna, in Italy, where the professors of jurisprudence first began to teach the doctrines of monarchical prerogative, as founded in the Roman law. But the German emperors were too late in acting upon the principles of their newly-discovered power; and in their attempts to employ them against the rights of the rising and flourishing cities of Italy, the crown lost its only chance of defence and support against its more powerful vassals. In France, however, since the third dynasty of Hugot Capet and his successors, the monarchs, being at first confirmed in the legitimate possession of the throne by but a few of their vassals, were naturally driven to look to their own resources and tangible strength; and knowing, at the same time, that waste or inattention in these particulars was tantamount to a relinquishment of their crown, they took great care, not only not to squander their estates, but to improve them by all possible means, as the only certain basis of the security of their usurped throne. Thus was laid the first stone of the foundation of a real arbitrary monarchy, the full development of which was greatly favoured by the circumstance that the administration of the judicial courts and tribunals was, in consequence of the multiplication and complication of public and private litigious suits, yielded up by the martial nobles to the more learned and persevering lawyers, who, having no estates of their own to defend against the crown, gradually regained for that power what had been formerly wrenched from it by the selfish vassals, in putting into practice, especially since the reign of Louis the Saint, the legal yet novel view, viz. that the most important rights formerly attached to landed property were now to be transferred to the supreme authority of the realm, leaving nothing to the owners of the estates beyond the en-

joyment of the usufruct. This new doctrine, whatever its real design might have been, was received by the mass of the people with cheerfulness; for its tendency appeared to be, the restoration of order in the confused state of public affairs. Yet it cannot be denied that the legislators, in promulgating the new doctrines, had solely in view the advantage of the crown, and had as little at heart the interest of the people, as the promoters of the former customs had it in establishing the rights of the few landholders. The results, however, proved a substantial national gain: a degree of stability and centralization was infused into the government, and the oppressed multitude knew, at least, now, where to seek for redress against the cruelties of the minor number of aristocrats.

This second remodelling of the royal power had not made its way to England, and for this reason, that the Roman law had not only never attained a dominant and established ascendancy in the island; but also, and chiefly, because the rights of the crown had, in that country, never undergone such revolutions as in the other parts of Europe. In England the kings had always maintained the ancient prerogatives, despite the increasing strength and power of landed estates. The Norman expedition to England—the last scene of the *emigration of nations*—happened at a period, and issued from a country, when and where the original statutes of the feudal system were yet fresh in memory and in full operation. Nor could they have been greatly degenerated in a country like Normandy, where the princes were as active as the people were of a young and recent origin. William the Conqueror found in his *right of conquest* the best opportunity of setting in full force the principles of feudalism; and he did so, with much cruelty, among the newly-conquered people of England. Moreover, the frequent and violent changes in the regal succession tended to furnish every new conqueror and usurper with the means of renewing from time to time, and with increased severity and violence, the ancient feudal rights of the crown over the landholders and their possessions. Thus, while in Germany and other parts of Europe the bonds of feudalism were imperceptibly loosened from the people, in England that same system of thralldom, as its force and vigour were reduced by the hand of time, was resuscitated and refreshed, and every link throughout the whole chain was kept bright and in perfect repair.

In *fine*, England was the only country in Europe where the feudal system was so universal as to connect the humblest subject immediately with the crown: a circumstance to which we frequently recur, because by it alone we shall be enabled to find the clue to many obscure points in her history and constitution.

(To be continued).

RAMBLES IN WESTERN SWITZERLAND AND THE JURA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—THE JURA.—SIGNAL OF BOUGY.—SUNSET IN SWITZERLAND.—ST. GEORGES.—THE GLACIER.—THE PINE FORESTS OF THE JURA.

It is scarcely less amusing than instructive to observe how the same series of objects is differently viewed by different eyes, and how the feelings, fancies, and prejudices of the individual, never fail to show themselves in all his remarks, and give a colouring to all his observations and opinions. This is, I think, the true reason why descriptive works, and, above all, accounts of travels, are ever new and amusing, and why, also, the very same scenes may be described correctly by several passers-by, and yet each shall differ from the other, and all may be read and studied with pleasure and advantage. It seems to me that this alone would be a fair excuse for multiplying still further "recollections of travel;" but, on the present occasion, I flatter myself that there are even stronger reasons for a fresh attempt, and I hope to persuade the reader of this in the following pages, and induce him to allow that I have discovered rich mines of golden gossip, shadowed forth in the title which heads this article. And yet it is a bold thing, in these days of universal peregrination, to talk of discovering any district at once unvisited and beautiful; and still more bold will the presumption seem when the country is such an one as Switzerland, talked of by every body, and visited by half the world. Perhaps, however, talked of and visited as Switzerland undoubtedly is, there is no instance to be mentioned in which the partiality of the great herd of travellers for high roads and celebrated *guide-book* marvels is more strikingly apparent. The great majority go from Paris to Geneva by the "diligence," pass over the Jura probably at night or early in the morning, and are hardly aware of the existence of such a mountain chain. From Geneva they will hurry to Chamounix, to see the glories of Mont Blanc; then, if they propose making a *regular* Swiss tour, will return to Geneva, go to Berne, thence to Thun de Grindelwald, and Meyringen, stopping, of course, at

Interlaken ; and from Meyringen will either journey northwards, by Luzern and Basle, into Germany, or turn southwards again towards Italy. And these people will be satisfied, and think they have seen Switzerland, and will talk, not only of the lofty and magnificent mountains, but also of the habits, manners, and appearance, of the people, little aware that the annual influx of thousands of human beings, of all sorts and kinds, has completely destroyed the real national character in those districts which alone they and the multitude visit. It is in consequence of this limited knowledge that we hear people complain of the national character of the Swiss being deteriorated, and of their having become a dishonest people, wholly given up to the cheating of travellers, especially Englishmen ; and that the once innocent, simple inhabitants, do little else than prey upon the unsuspecting stranger, who, in his turn, has become the innocent, the interesting, and the injured. When, however, any one desires to amuse himself with foreign travel, and is *not* thoroughly satisfied before starting that the English language and the habits of Englishmen are the only things worthy of his attention and admiration, he may find, even at the present day, and that, too, in Switzerland, a simple-minded, intelligent race, little accustomed to strangers, and little injured by their contact—a race whose love of country is yet unimpaired, and who, if need be, would stand up and die in defence of their mountain home and their liberty. In order to discover the very existence of this real Swiss feeling, it is necessary, however, to put off the thick warm coat of prejudice, which the too fortunate Englishman is rather apt to indulge in, even in his summer excursions. The people must not have their prejudices shocked by the exhibition of ours when we go as strangers among them ; and we must put up with many little discomforts, and often real annoyances, which, in the well-regulated hotels on most of the continental high roads, would never be endured. For instance, good or even tolerable dinners, decent *solitary* beds, quiet evenings, un-loquacious inn-keepers, speaking intelligible French, or even, as is often the case, English : these are things left behind when we quit the ordinary travelled route ; and, in fact, one who cannot trust to himself, with a knapsack on his back, a compass and map in his pocket, and a pair of stout legs and shoes to match, had better not look for amusement where *he*, perhaps, might only find annoyance, and where the difficulties and dangers are not sufficient to add excitement to the objects of interest.

However, presuming that my narrative may be more tempting than

my reflections upon it, I will proceed to describe a few days spent, last summer, most agreeably, in wandering and exploring in the valleys of the Jura ; and though the results of my expedition cannot be said to possess much that is novel or of scientific interest, they may, at all events, help to pass away an idle hour, and induce others to visit, in a similar way, a district abounding in wild romantic and forest scenery.

The part of Switzerland to which the peregrinations I am about to describe were confined, consists of a narrow strip limited by a line through Lausanne and Neuchâtel to the east, and the frontier of France to the west. It includes a small part of the great valley of Switzerland, and the greater part of the line of mountains well known under the name of "The Jura."

This chain of the Jura extends for about one hundred and fifty miles in a direct line between the Rhine and the Rhone, and forms the natural boundary of France and Switzerland. Towards the north it expands in an easterly direction, forming several irregularly parallel ridges ; but throughout there is an approximation to a division into three principal lines, which, however, nearly unite towards Geneva, and are represented in the very singular mountain of the Saleve, which rises immediately to the south of that city. Such is the general appearance of the chain. The elevations are all considerable, but none of them excessive, the usual range being from three to five thousand feet, although Mont Tendre reaches a height of nearly six thousand. The outline is, for the most part, rounded and heavy, wanting all the sharp, jagged, needle-shaped projections, which render the high Alps so picturesque and grand. Seen from a distance, there is nothing striking or prepossessing in the prospect ; and the eye of the traveller entering Switzerland is naturally and necessarily attracted to the more remarkable configuration which the great chain of the Alps presents to view. It is only when we come near, and view in detail the separate mountains of the Jura from the valleys between them—when we wander in the vast forests of lofty pines, or look down from a bold, rocky, naked eminence, upon the mixture of desolation and cultivation, of nature and art, of wildness and beauty, which the numerous valleys present—when we come suddenly upon the most retired and most lovely of lakes, or thread the narrow and singular gorges which at intervals present themselves—it is only, in fact, when we *search* for the beauties that we find and truly enjoy them ; for I am willing to admit that they do not force themselves

into notice, or boldly challenge the admiration which is certainly their due.

Nor are the mountains in this western part of Switzerland without their proper amount of cold and ice. There are natural ice caverns, where the warmth of the sun never penetrates, and where the rich tracery of nature's crystalline architecture may be studied on a grand scale. There are, too, other and more permanent stalactitic beauties; for the limestone, of which the Jura is chiefly composed, is often broken into caverns of various sizes, some of them presenting very beautiful appearances, from the infiltration of water charged with carbonate of lime. Of these, I regret to be obliged to acknowledge that I did not see any; a neglect which arose partly from ignorance, but chiefly from necessity, not having so much time to spare as the subject demanded.

The first expedition that I made towards the Jura mountains was with a friend, who, to my great loss, could not accompany me on subsequent occasions. Perhaps, on this account as much as any other, there is a freshness and agreeableness about my reminiscences of this trip, which hardly attaches to other and more extensive explorings. I shall give the narrative pretty much as I find it in my journal, and trust to its truth and close adherence to fact to excite interest, rather than to any colouring that I might be tempted to indulge in.

On a beautiful afternoon in the beginning of August, I embarked with my companion at Lausanne, on board the steam boat which touches there on its way to Geneva; and in about two hours we landed at the pretty village of Rolle, whence we slowly ascended to an elevation at some few miles distance to the north, on the highest point of which, about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the lake, there is a little summer-house kind of building, marking a spot well known to picturesque hunters in the neighbourhood of Geneva as the "Signal of Bougy." It was our intention to remain here till sunset, and then, having feasted our eyes with the magnificence and beauty of the extensive prospect, we were to make the best of our way to Aubonne, a pretty village, situated at no very great distance.

We arrived at the signal about half an hour before sunset, and had leisure to look around and admire the noble landscape that presented itself to our view. Owing to the situation of this elevated ridge near the bend of the lake, the whole of the vast sheet of water, extending from Geneva to Villeneuve—a distance of not less than fifty miles—

is exposed to view with the most perfect distinctness. Every little bay and inlet, every spire of a village church on either side of its banks, every one of the numerous villages and towns modestly retiring under the rich woodland scenery, which at once overshadows and discloses the works of man—every object, in fact, that the eye can rest on with pleasure, is here seen clearly and sharply defined, in harmonious contrast with the blue sky and bluer water. Just opposite the signal the lake attains its greatest breadth, nearly ten miles ; and the mountains on the opposite or Savoy side are seen to recede, leaving a narrow opening, which discovers not only the lofty summit of the giant monarch of mountains, but also a considerable portion of the eternal mantle of snow which envelopes his shoulders, and which the comparatively insignificant but much nearer elevations effectually hide from view in almost every other spot in the vicinity of the Lake of Geneva.

And if, leaving these glories, we turn to contemplate the scene to the east and north, there is a new set of beauties, a new species of loveliness, not so striking, but scarcely less interesting than the other. The frowning mass of Mont Tendre, already in deep shade—for, the sun setting behind this mountain, the intervening valley is the first darkened—the rich but sombre forests which clothe the sides of that as of most of the Jura mountains, the contrast of bright green corn-fields, which nothing can make to look gloomy, the multitude of patches of vineyard, and the occasional appearance of a naked sandy waste, all these, in their way, add to the effect, which is completed by distant glimpses of pretty villages, here and there peeping out from their green hiding-places.

Amid all these elements of beauty, and commanding a prospect of much that is most lovely in Switzerland, did we stand to watch the gradual but too rapid disappearance of the sun, as he approached the western horizon. At first the rich golden tint was predominant, and there was a degree of pain in the very intensity of the effulgence ; but this soon mellowed down into a softer brilliancy, and tinted all distant objects with a lovely rose colour, which in its turn became paler and paler, as it died away upon the mountain tops, and left the snowy summits in their clear cold reality. There is something deeply impressive in thus watching the gradual departure of brilliancy, richness, and loveliness, first, from the nearest objects, where we seem as if able to grasp and detain the beauty, and then successively from those farther and farther from us, just touching the distant prospect, and giving it the vividness of reality, only to pass away the more

quickly, and leave all in darkness and obscurity. Such scenes ought to be impressive lessons to the young and thoughtless : for so pass away the glories of this world ; and the distant objects of ambition, love, or happiness, shine to them with a colouring as brilliant, and one which will prove as evanescent, even as the last tint communicated by a summer's sun.

Certainly a fine sunset in Switzerland is a thing not easily to be forgotten when it has been enjoyed in silence and under favourable circumstances. The lengthening shadows of the mountains, the changeful tints of the calm waters, the distant snow on one side and the gloomy forests on the other, are well calculated to produce a train of thinking and ideas of rest and peace, reminding one of childhood and of home, and promoting a sadness and melancholy which are quite in consonance with the best feelings of our nature. There comes over one, on such occasions, a desire and longing after another and a nobler state of existence, where the spirit will not be bound down by the close cords of mortality, but will be free to range at pleasure from world to world, and know clearly those hidden things which the utmost stretch of imagination cannot now guess at.

I shall not often be led into these digressions, but there are few evenings of my life which recur so often with pleasure to my memory as the one I am now describing ; and I have yet more to say concerning it. Not long after the sun had quite set to us, but while it still communicated a rosy hue to Mont Blanc, whose lofty and distant summit did not become tinted till the snow of all the other and nearer mountains had recovered its former whiteness, we strolled along the ridge, and soon had occasion to descend a little on coming to a narrow ravine. In the course of two or three minutes we again had the same prospect before us : the same, but how changed ! Mont Blanc had now become of the colour of chased silver, a rich creamy appearance, which the distant snow will sometimes take on evenings like this. The other mountains frowned in their dark outlines yet more clearly than before ; for behind them had just arisen the queen of night in all her simplicity and majesty, her full orb resting, as it were, and skimming lightly upon the summit of one of them, as if pausing to look upon the earth before commencing her nightly course. It was her pale blue mingling with the last faint touches of the rose, that had produced the rich but momentary colour we so much admired.

After a pleasant stroll through cultivated fields, catching at intervals a momentary glance of the white summits of the distant moun-

tains, we arrived at our destination, and after a supply of unexceptionable coffee, bread and butter, and honey, took a moonlight walk round the village, and sat down in the public walks, admiring once more the beautiful lake and mountain scenery which had so often before delighted us. We returned to our inn, enjoyed very tolerable beds; and next morning found us journeying westward; and about eleven we reached the town, or rather village, of Gimel, where we obtained directions as to our further progress towards "St. Georges," in the immediate vicinity of the mountains.

Before arriving at this last named village (which is three thousand feet above the level of the sea), we had quite entered on the district of the Jura, and already had wandered through extensive forests of pine, and mounted and descended some considerable elevations. But the appearance of St. Georges, from the last of the undulations which form the flank of the Jura, is pretty picturesque, and even romantic in the extreme. The road, passing along a natural cut in the rock, and showing on each side the naked limestone in a variety of fantastic forms, conceals, for the most part, the view of the mountains, until, becoming suddenly more rocky, and turning rather to the right, we left its formal course, and trusting to our map and compass, struck off to the left, and, mounting by a narrow path in that direction, were soon rewarded by the rich and wild scenery which disclosed itself to our view as soon as we had reached the summit of a moderate ascent. Immediately before us stretched the noble mountains, clothed to their summit with the dark, sombre, but truly magnificent, vegetation of the lofty pine forests, which extended in one unbroken mass as far as the eye could reach. Between the spot on which we stood and this steep face of the mountains, there lay a lovely and quiet valley, cultivated, but not tortured into too great regularity: waving with corn, smiling in fruit trees, and completed by the pretty peeping tower of a church rising above the houses of the little village to which we were journeying. The perfect calm that reigned around contributed to the effect of this scene; and we descended and arrived at the village almost without speaking a word to interrupt the flow of feeling which such a scene was well calculated to produce. The narrow and irregular street we found almost choaked up by a large flock of goats loitering about, and apparently driven down from their mountain pasture to be milked. Threading our way through them, though not without a little difficulty, we were soon directed to the abode of the "maitre du glacier," who was to provide us with a guide to take us across the mountain and show us the glacier of the Jura,

to see which, indeed, was one principal object of our expedition. We found the house—the lower part serving for the goats, and, we presume, the upper being appropriated to bipeds—but the master himself we did not find, and were obliged to wait some time before any one could be hunted up to conduct us. It would have been quite useless to attempt to explore upon speculation, as the glacier is in a cavern, whose mouth would not be easily seen, even at a short distance. Meanwhile we examined the primitive wooden houses of which the village was composed, and amused ourselves with watching the few inhabitants in the place, who, in their turn, were most energetically employed in scrutinising us. After waiting some time, a half-silly half-drunk individual presented himself, and in the fewest possible words intimated his readiness to be our escort. As there was no choice we accepted his services, and immediately commenced a clamorous ascent through the thick forest, which, as I have said, clothes the face of the mountain, and seems to rise like a green wall behind the village. Although we had been walking for some hours, and our guide had apparently very recently emerged from a cabaret, we did not find this specimen of a Swiss mountaineer peculiarly active or difficult to keep up with. At every fallen tree that we came to he paused, and intimated his desire to rest; and although at first we indulged him, and plucked the strawberries and other fruits which abounded, yet we soon discovered that it would be long before we arrived at the top if we did not set an example of activity. After a good deal of difficulty, we got the poor wretch to understand that we would not pause so often, and at length, in about an hour, reached the summit, crossed the ridge, and, descending for a short distance, came upon the verge of the cavern, into which we immediately descended by the help of three ladders, and then found ourselves in a large natural ice-house.

It was a hot August day, and about noon, when we arrived here; and the sudden transition from the burning sun to the cold chilly cavern was very delightful, and lent, perhaps, a favourable colouring to the scene before us. We had descended about forty feet, and entered, by a vertical and rather chimney-shaped aperture, a regular and extensive cavern, of which the walls and flooring were of clear, solid, and excellent ice, forming beautiful stalactites and stalagmites, grouped in all kinds of fanciful and grotesque positions. The thickness of ice was extremely great, greater, indeed, in most parts, than could be calculated; but the roof was of bare rock, and exposed the geological structure of the cavern. It was formed along the line of

an anticlinal axis in the limestone of which the Jura chain is composed; and on one side the stratum was bent round so as to make a fine natural arch, the north and south direction of the axis coinciding nearly with the vertical wall to the west. The ice was exceedingly well preserved, there being only a small pool of water in one corner; and the amount was not perceptibly diminished, although it had been pretty freely used for nearly three months. There was quite sufficient light from above to show everything within with the utmost clearness, so that the disagreeable and smoky necessity of torches was avoided.

Having indulged our curiosity, and finding the guide of so little use, we started off without him in the direction of our destination, that is, eastward; and, trusting to compass and map, entered boldly into the labyrinth of a vast and magnificent pine forest, full of uneven and rocky ground, and sheltering in its recesses many wolves and bears, although, as it was summer, we did not much dread coming in contact with such animals. However, on we went; and having traversed the forest for some distance, observed a large and isolated rock, rising suddenly and boldly before us. By the help of our sticks and some half-grown trees, we managed to reach a flat surface on the top, covered with noble pines and other trees, together with abundance of brushwood; and then, proceeding a little way, discovered that we were within a couple of yards of a sudden precipice, which was perpendicular for a hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, and gave a magnificent *coup d'œil* of the boundless forest which stretched out in all directions before us. Here and there jutted out a mountain mass like that on which we stood, whose bare vertical sides refused to be the resting-place of a tree. All else was one dark mass of vegetable life, and the effect was singularly interesting and grand.

We retraced our steps, descending by the same tree which had helped us to ascend, and which seemed the only approach to this singular plateau; and after a long and difficult descent, and much walking in the direction our compass pointed out, we found a road, which led across another mountain, and through another forest, until we came out upon the great plain of the valley of Switzerland, not far from the village of Bière, where we dined; and afterwards confined our journeying towards Lausanne to the high roads, which present little more interest here than in other countries where the picturesque and the romantic are not so common. Thus ended my

first trip to the Jura. It was a most delightful one to myself, and I shall be well satisfied if I have communicated any of the amusement to my reader.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLISH SCENERY.—MEX.—COSSONEX.—ASCENT OF THE JURA.—
SUDDEN CHANGE OF SCENERY.—THE DESERT.—FIRST VIEW OF
THE LAC DE JOUX.—LE PONT.—THE LAC DE JOUX.—LAC DE
BRENET.—VALLOBRE, THE VALLEY AND VILLAGE.—Jougne.

It was about a month after my return to Lausanne from the little expedition narrated in the preceding chapter, that I again bent my steps to the western mountains; and I did so, resolved to explore in a wilder district, and to give more time to the various points of interest that might present themselves. Even then, however, I was sadly hurried, and missed much that well deserved examination, although I certainly saw a great deal, both of Switzerland and the Swiss, which travellers in general have carelessly and even superciliously passed by. On starting, I took the road to the north-west, which leads by several small villages to Cossonex, near which place there is an abrupt and considerable ascent; and the rest of the route, as far as the Jura, is upon the high ridge of sand hills running parallel to the mountain chain, and terminating towards the south at the Signal of Bougy, concerning which enough has already been said.

Almost immediately on leaving Lausanne every vestige of houses is lost sight of, and the scenery strikingly resembles the very prettiest and quietest met with in the middle of England. Were it not, indeed, for the Savoy mountains still visible in the distance, the illusion would be complete; for the few vineyards to be seen give one quite the idea of hop-gardens, and the rest of the ground, covered with waving corn-fields and beautiful orchards, or dotted here and there with rich clover and smiling meadow land, is all neatly enclosed with quickset hedges, and covers the gentle slope of a most English-like hill. Really the effect of a few miles of this agreeable home-scenery makes one enjoy yet more the rich contrast presented when the noble and majestic mountains form, as they usually do, an important feature in the landscape.

As I had not started very early, I found it expedient to halt at a

small village between two and three leagues from Lausanne, and pay a visit to a little road-side public-house, where I made an early dinner of ham, bread and cheese, and wine. While I was conning over my map preparatory to these being put on the table, the good landlady paused in her occupation to assist in the examination; and I regret to say that the map-maker fell grievously under her displeasure, for he had omitted to insert this her birth-place among the villages and towns of Switzerland. It was very amusing to see the earnest but ineffectual search of three or four people who happened to be present, and who left their wine to examine in all parts and in every canton, under the impression that the name of the village (Mex) could not be absolutely omitted, but must have been misplaced. However, after about half an hour they gave it up in despair, and I went on my way, leaving them to digest the disappointment and rail at my map at their leisure. I dare say it formed the subject of conversation for many a day, until some election of a deputy, or unfavourable news from France, gave a new turn to their curious enquiries.

The country continues pretty well cultivated and rather tame for some miles, until at a sudden turn, and crossing a small river, we come in sight of the town of Cossonex, which I have already alluded to as placed on a ridge of highish sand hills parallel with the Jura chain. The first view of this place, its pretty spire, and one or two houses showing themselves from amidst a mass of trees which crown the summit of the ridge, is very picturesque and striking.

The ascent is sudden, and seems almost precipitous for perhaps a couple of hundred feet; but it is probably owing entirely to the irregular action of water wearing away, on one side, the almost incoherent sand of which this and most of the hills of the middle of Switzerland are formed.

The town of Cossonex is not remarkable, nor is the road between it and Cuarnens. After leaving the latter place, however, we come within sight of Mont Tendre, one of the highest of the Jura mountains, and before long begin to ascend the rather steep sides of the pass between that mountain and the Dent de Vaution, which forms the northern, as Mont Tendre does the eastern, limit of the Lac de Joux. It was not till two hours after leaving Cuarnens that I reached the highest part of the pass; but the walk, though long and rather laborious, amply repaid me in the number of beautiful views across the great valley, which seemed to increase in richness and luxuriance as I gradually became more and more elevated above the surrounding country. It was interesting to see the distant snowy

mountains successively elevating their broad shoulders above the horizon, until at length the whole chain became visible from the Molèson and other mountains in the canton of Freyburg, to the Savoy mountains, presenting towards the south-east splendid and very characteristic views of those two giants, the Dent de Midi and the Dent de Morcles,* which stand as sentinels, obliged, indeed, to allow the waters of the Rhone a free passage, but frowning upon, and threatening, as it were, with instant destruction, any bold intruder who may venture to prosecute his wayward fancies, and attempt to trace here the history of the now calm and uniform, though once fearfully disturbed, course of nature.

And then it was not less interesting to let the eye dwell upon the rich and charming tract of cultivated land extending between the lakes of Neuchâtel and Geneva, and abutting directly against the highly inclined strata of the mountain I was scaling. The bird's eye view of this portion of the valley, when seen in comparison with *real* mountains, presented the appearance only of a vast plain, with a chain of low hills running N.E. and S.W., and here and there a small series of undulations, just sufficient to take away the character of monotony that might otherwise have belonged to it.

It will easily be conceived that scenery so varied and extensive, so rich in all that constitutes the riches of a country, and yet so noble and majestic in the distant prospect, could not be unattractive. Many, indeed, were the long lingering looks which I cast behind me as the shades of evening gradually closed in, and the broad, deep, and lengthening shadow of the huge mountain before me made the intermediate valley dark and gloomy, and threw out with greater distinctness the outline of the distant elevations, whose snowy summits were becoming tinged with the rosy hue which marks a Swiss sunset.

By the time that I arrived at the top of the pass the sun had quite disappeared, and was succeeded by the moon, which, being at the full, poured forth a flood of light and glory, causing it to be almost too bright for the eye to gaze on without pain. Then, too, the scenery entirely and quite suddenly changed, in a manner as unexpected as it was striking. I will endeavour to give some idea of the new view which presented itself, both because it was in itself most beauti-

* The valley of the Rhone, after a long course to the south-west, turns suddenly and at right angles to the north-west at Martigny, and passes between these two singular mountains in the *only* break that occurs between Mont Blanc and the Oberland Alps.

ful, and also because it was characteristic of the range of mountains among which it occurred.

In rising to the highest part of the pass, of course all prospect of the country beyond and to the west was cut off; and, as I have already intimated, it was by turning occasionally to look upon the middle and east of Switzerland, that the beautiful and interesting views were obtained. As soon, however, as the ridge had been passed, all this to the east was immediately lost sight of, and the scenery was that of the Jura, of its mountains and valleys, its heights clothed with lofty pines, and its precipitous masses bare, naked, and wild, and sternly defying all the efforts of vegetation. The change, consequently, was as complete as could well be. From gazing on the smiling valley and waving corn-fields, the eye rested on vast masses of dark and gloomy forest scenery, only here and there enlivened by a bold crag, or, at the most, by a few acres of pasture land. Such is the general character of the greater part of the Jura; but there is always some striking feature, some commanding object, upon which the eye of the traveller fastens with avidity, and which gives an identity to any particular spot, and induces a feeling of attachment and (if I may so say) friendliness to a view of wild nature not easily forgotten in subsequent wanderings, and amid the contemplation of scenery which would generally be considered more magnificent.

In the view which presented itself on coming fairly within the limits of the Jura range at this point, the principal object was a noble isolated mountain to the right, rearing its lofty head in solitary grandeur to the clouds, and causing the hitherto direct path to wind and wander about, and again ascend after a long descent, giving in its numerous contortions a succession of noble prospects. At length, at a sudden turn, the whole is lost sight of; and we emerge upon a broken, hilly ground, completely different in character, and possessing the features of desert rather than of mountain scenery.

I did not long remain in this comparatively uninteresting track, necessarily pursued by those travellers who trust not to their own legs; for having fallen in with some country people who were going to one of the small villages on the Lac de Joux, I was initiated by them into the mysteries of a cross road, if road, indeed, that might be called which was marked only by an innumerable multitude of loose stones and rocks, brought down by some torrent rushing with uncontrollable violence, and tearing away everything in its resistless course. Following, however, this primitive path scooped out by nature's own hand, and occupying great part of a singular rocky gorge,

with lofty perpendicular walls of naked limestone on each side, and picking our way over this singular and *rather* uneven pavement, we went on for some distance; and I do not remember to have seen a more wild, desolate, and irreclaimable spot, or one so utterly destitute of all appearance of life or animation. In a moment, however, and from the midst of all this desolation, on coming to a particular point, there was a small opening, and a scene presented itself, with almost magical effect, of a small but placid lake embosomed among the mountains, a few little villages sprinkled here and there on its green banks, and with occasionally a few forest trees clothing the steep ascent of the mountain sides, but all calm and peaceful, and contrasting most delightfully with the wild savage desert from which we had just emerged. In descending to the head of the lake this view was lost sight of for a time, but again appeared glittering in the silver light of the moon, and with a few solitary lamps in the cottage windows prettily reflected from the calm waters, I had arrived at the "Lac de Joux." I was not long in finding a pleasant comfortable inn at the village of "Le Pont" at the head of the lake, and there I took up my abode for the night, much regretting that I could not spend days in exploring the beauties of this neighbourhood.

The position of the Lac de Joux, enclosed on all sides by considerable mountains, and itself nearly three thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea, is as romantic and singular as it is beautiful. Its shape is oblong, being about five miles in length by one in breadth; and there is a continuation to the north, by means of a kind of marsh, with another and a much smaller piece of water, called the Lac de Brenet. Besides these two, there is a third much smaller one, situated to the west, which, however, is scarcely more than a pool, and is not connected with either lake. The little village called Le Pont (probably from the bridge which crosses the junction of the two lakes) is placed exactly between them, and at the foot of a mountain of about five thousand feet in height, which is separated, by a very narrow and extremely wild gorge, from another mountain to the west. The Mont Tendre, the highest of the Jura range, shuts in the scenery to the east; and thus one seems to be completely lost, and quite excluded from all intercourse with the world. But, as I have already observed, the scenery is not less beautiful than it is romantic. Standing between the lakes, and looking towards the south, we see on the left a frowning and barren mountain rising almost precipitately, and only occasionally showing a vestige of life in the stunted grass which here and there has planted itself. At a greater height, how-

ever, there is a belt of pines, and then at the top all is desolation. This wildness, however, is only a required contrast to the rich verdure which clothes the western banks. On this side the ground is broken and irregular, occasionally jutting out some distance into the lake, and then receding to form a little bay or creek; now rising boldly and nakedly from the water's edge, and then gradually swelling in a gentle rise to the more distant and less lofty hills to the right. On this side, too, there was no want either of cultivation or natural beauty. Forest trees in abundance were there, and their dark green was relieved by a few cultivated patches belonging to the pretty isolated cottages, or the two or three scattered villages which might be distinguished on the hill side, or so near the lake as to be seen reflected in its calm waters.

Passing through the village of Le Pont, and without crossing the bridge, I soon found a foot path leading along the right bank of the more northern of the two lakes, and so by the gorge already spoken of, and to be hereafter described, into the Vallorbe, which lay in my intended route towards a French frontier town called Jougne; and I feel more than ever how completely language is at fault, in attempting to give some idea of the first two or three leagues of my morning's walk through this charming district. The strange and sudden alteration from the bleak and forbidding aspect which at first characterises the mountains on the east, to a vast forest of pines rising quite abruptly from the little lake, and stretching away in that direction as far as the eye could reach—the contrast of these dark and sombre masses with the mellowing and autumnal tints of a considerable extent of forest trees on the opposite banks—the effect of a few small but well-built white cottages on that side—the extraordinary closing in of the mountains in front—and the curious appearance of a mist which then hung over the foot of the lake, and was occasionally lifted as a curtain, presenting glimpses of the country beyond, until at length it rolled away and vanished from the sight—all these several elements of beauty united, and acting upon the buoyant spirits which health, strength, and a fine cool September morning will give, produced an impression upon the mind too pleasing to be easily or soon forgotten, and which I would wish, were it possible, to communicate to my readers, that they might enjoy some of the beauties of this most interesting part of a most interesting country.

On leaving behind me the sweet lake of Brenet, I entered almost directly a very narrow ravine, so completely overrun with pines of various heights and ages, that I could only occasion-

ally catch a glimpse of the perpendicular walls of naked rock, which rose within a few yards on either side. Proceeding onwards almost in the dark, from the abundance of wood, I soon found that the path began to descend very rapidly, and at length came to a spot from which another valley branched off, and a mountain was seen turning aside from the direction which I had been following. At this point I came into the valley of the Orbe, a river whose source is not far from hence, and which soon turns towards the east into the widening valley, and, after running for about twenty miles, empties itself into the lake of Neuchâtel, near the town of Yverdon.

That part of the Vallorbe which I traversed seemed to be remarkable not more for the wild and almost savage character of the scenery near the source of the river, and before the sudden bend to the east, than for the singular and pleasing manner in which this savage grandeur changed to romantic beauty, and that, again, to the very different appearance of a rather wide, rich, and well-cultivated valley, enclosed by hills, which gradually become less remarkable as they recede, and which, before many miles, have lost all pretensions to wildness or magnificence. Indeed, the narrowness of the ravine, the sudden appearance of an impassable barrier in front, the noise of a not very distant waterfall, and a variety of assisting circumstances, all help to produce a striking effect on the traveller, which effect is increased by the obscurity and gloom of an exuberance of vegetable life clothing the steep ascents on each side, and precluding all view, except that of the mixed wildness and beauty characterising the immediate spot on which he stands.

After a while, on reaching the apparent termination of this narrow ravine, there is a range of rocky and perpendicular eminences running towards the north-east; and here the broken path, which had hitherto served as a rather obscure guide, conducted me to an excellent road coming from the west, and serving as a means of communication between some of the smaller frontier towns of France and the south-west of Switzerland. I followed the road for a short distance, as it wound about in a serpentine course, to diminish the rather precipitous nature of the descent; but, soon getting tired of such regular travelling, struck off by a little narrow path, and endeavoured to descend at once into the valley. I succeeded, although not without considerable difficulty, and even some danger; and by letting myself drop occasionally where I saw a flat projecting terrace below, I at last managed to reach the river, and then, indeed, was amply repaid for my labour by looking up the narrow and singular cleft which the noisy stream had, perhaps,

partly worn out of the limestone rock. The grey perpendicular wall to the south, worn and blackened by long exposure to elemental warfare, reminded me forcibly of the *scars* of our Yorkshire and Westmoreland hills, but are on a far grander scale than even the finest of these. Owing to the sudden turn which the river is forced to make, only a small part of its course is seen here, and even much that might be visible, and does make itself appreciated by one of the senses (that of hearing), is quite hidden from the eye by most luxuriant vegetation, covering every spot upon which a square yard of earth can find lodgment. So completely is this the case, that a large tree often seems to hang almost in the air, its roots being imbedded, as it were, in the very rock itself, and so bidding defiance to the accidents of tempest and the attacks of man.

When I had once descended to the noisy and troubled river, it required only that I should follow it in its course to return soon to the road from which I had diverged. Once more in the direct route, I soon reached the village of Vallorbe ; but by this time the valley had ceased to be romantic, and, although still pretty, presents nothing very remarkable in its widening expanse. The village, however, is one so entirely Swiss, and so very picturesque, as well at a distance as when viewed in detail, that I must just allude to it *en passant*. The houses are, as usual, square, with the roof projecting very much, so as to shelter completely from the weather the galleries running round the exterior on the first floor, and the staircases, which are also outside the house. Wood seems the only building material ; for not only were the walls made of it, but even the shelving roof was covered entirely with wooden tiles, if one may so call the oblong thin boards laid one over another, and forming an admirable and waterproof covering. Each house is separated from the rest by a greater or less space, according to its importance ; and although there was a degree of regularity, and the whole made something like a street, yet this seemed rather the effect of accident than intention, so absolutely independent did each building appear to be of all the rest. The church, a plain brick edifice, stood apart, and overlooked the small family of whose members it, doubtless, formed the effectual bond of union.

After passing this pretty village I left the valley, and crossed its northern boundary by a pass of no great elevation or interest ; and after traversing another valley, naked and barren, and only characterised by some iron founderies, which did not possess attraction for me, I arrived at the foot of a hill, on the top of which stands the French frontier town of Jougne. As this town lay in my road, I

soon scaled the steep and fortified lines, which make the place important as a military position ; and as soon as I reached the top, and had entered the gate of the town, was stopped by a sentinel perched in a little box overlooking the pathway, and my knapsack was immediately taken off and overhauled with the most praiseworthy attention and minuteness. I know not whether it was that searching was an amusement rarely enjoyed, or whether there appeared something contraband in my looks or manner, but certainly never was the operation of turning every thing inside out so assiduously performed. Even a little morsel of soap in a paper, and the insides of a pair of shoes, were examined ; and, to crown all, my note-book was untied and opened, although, indeed, its contents were—being in English—held sacred. When all this had been done, and that, too, on the steps of the guard-house, I was marched off in state, by one of the gens d'armes, to M. le Commandant, who, after arranging my passport, became rather communicative, and showed me various curiosities which he had discovered in his present dull quarters. One of them was, I think, the very finest medal of Julius Cæsar I have ever seen ; and he had, besides this, several other coins and medals, and a few fossils. I soon quitted Jougne, and was glad to escape from it ; for I never have seen any place so absolutely stagnant, or one which seemed to want so entirely every vestige of life and animation. With the exception of half a dozen women talking together near the gate, and the two soldiers who amused themselves with my baggage, there was not another human being to be seen in passing through the principal street at mid-day ; and as for shops, there seemed to be none, or at least what there were appeared empty of goods as well as customers. But if the place is dull, its situation is certainly sufficient to account for any degree of dullness, however great. Placed on the summit of a hill, and commanding an extensive view of bleak and sterile waste in every direction, the eye can rest on no pleasing or interesting object ; for there is not a trace of civilization, and scarcely even a vestige of life, animate or inanimate.

It is true that, even from the very extent of desolation, there arises an idea of sublimity ; and the mind is filled with the contemplation of lofty mountains, and a considerable extent of country, upon which the sun in vain sheds his kindly influence, and the clouds drop no fatness ; but this negative sublimity fatigues even while it produces its effect, and one is glad to hurry over such parts, and hasten to others where beauty is at least present, if it does not preponderate over grandeur.

For many miles beyond Jougne, the general character of the scenery continues, however, wild and desolate. Passing round to the west of a lofty and very remarkable mountain, the Aiguille de Baulmes, I entered a vast forest inhabited by many charcoal burners, where large fires, and the cleared spaces which had provided the material for those fires, struck me as an interesting novelty, though I was rather in danger of being lost, by mistaking some of their numerous paths for my own road. I managed, however, to succeed in getting through the forest, and then made my way across the country by compass till I came to a few houses, after which I had no difficulty in reaching the village or town of St. Croix, which is situated oddly at the extremity or eastern end of a valley, whose narrow commencement by a ravine, opening imperceptibly into the wilder country to the west, I had entered, and almost reached the end of, before I was aware that marks of civilization were so near me. The town of St. Croix is large, straggling, and modern, and hardly deserving of much attention. It is the last town to the north in the Canton of Vaud; and having conducted my reader thus far, I will postpone to another chapter my journeyings in the adjoining Canton of Neuchâtel:

D. T. A.

DESULTORY SKETCHES IN NATURAL HISTORY.

By EDWARD BLYTH.

No. I.—THE HYÆNA GROUP.

VALUABLE as are the zoological characters afforded by the dentition of the *Mammalia*, there yet requires some judgment and discrimination in applying them to the grand purpose of philosophical classification, such as should accurately express the affinities, or degrees of physiological relationship, which different genera bear to each other; inasmuch as a close similitude in the dental characters subsists occasionally without indicating any particular affinity, and a very considerable amount of diversity also obtains, in some instances, between genera that are, notwithstanding, proximately, and even intimately, allied together.

We find this remarkably illustrated in the small group, of the value of a sub-family, which we have selected as affording an interesting subject with which to commence the present series of Sketches on the Natural History of the *Vertebrata*, wherein we propose to investigate the characters on which various groups of animals are founded, and more particularly those of the genera and higher divisions which appear to stand forth in an isolated manner from the rest, in consequence of the distinctive features of conformation characteristic of the immediately superior group, to which they naturally appertain, merging, in some instances, almost to obliteration, in extensive adaptive modifications having reference to some particular habit.

In order that we should be here duly understood, it is, perhaps, necessary to premise, that, although the entire series of *Vertebrata*, and, to a certain extent, the whole animal kingdom, may be ultimately referred to one general type or single universal plan of organization, more or less developed, and variously modified in different classes of beings, yet it must not be supposed, with some authors even of celebrity, but principally those who neglect to study the internal conformation of beings, that the systematic arrangement of animals is founded on arbitrary lines of demarcation, like the meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude traced on a globe or map ; that, in truth, there are no real divisions, except those of species ; and that, consequently, the efforts of systematists must necessarily be frivolous and futile, when they endeavour to define rigorously the boundaries of their several groups and successive divisions, which are supposed to pass insensibly into each other by a concatenation of intermediate forms, an unbroken series of gradations.

That such is most assuredly not the case, a moment's reflection on the four comprehensive grand divisions established by Cuvier, of *Vertebrata*, *Mollusca*, *Articulata*, and *Radiata*, might suffice to intimate ; inasmuch as these could never have been so definitely determined, the multitude of intervening links which such an hypothesis necessarily implies being utterly at variance with the supposition. Not but that certain organisms have been adduced as constituting bonds of connection between these primary *embranchements*, but only on a superficial apprehension of their intrinsic characters : for instance, the approximate obliteration of the vertebrated column in the lowest cyclostomatous fishes, has induced some authors to regard these as intermediate to the *Vertebrata* and *Mollusca* ; while an analogous link, or tendency on the part of a molluscous animal to assume the vertebrated sub-type of organiza-

tion, has been supposed to be afforded by certain of the higher Cephalopods, as the Cuttles, which internally deposit a quantity of earthy matter (the well-known *cuttle-fish bone* of commerce). But it should be borne in mind that the establishment of these leading divisions of the animal kingdom reposes ultimately on the *nervous* system, the confluent masses of which are disposed altogether differently in the *Vertebrata* and *Mollusca*; and that, in this most important and influential portion of their organization, both the *Cyclostomata* and *Cephalopoda* rigidly conform to their respective sub-regnal models of formation, the former merely presenting what is comparatively termed an arrested development, the latter a more complete development than usual. The distribution of the principal aggregations of *neurine*, or nervous proximate element essential and peculiar to animal organization, thus determines apart the three divisions of *Vertebrata*, *Mollusca*, and *Articulata*, with unerring certitude; and it remains to be shown that in this fundamental character, to which all others are subservient, a transition from one to another of these primary sub-types of form, or an intermediate organism, exists in any one instance: but we do not attach the same importance to those simply *positive* and *negative* characters upon which physiologists have hitherto attempted to dismember the *Radiata* of Cuvier into analogous divisions, if only because they do pass into each other, as might be predicated from the nature of the difference; their distinction consisting merely in the *degrees of development* traceable in several different minor groups, from the diffusion of the various proximate elements of the body in a homogeneous pulp, to their gradual separation into tissues more or less discernible. Analogy with the three first great divisions should indicate that if equivalent types of form exist among the *Radiata*, their integrity would be as constantly maintained in every species respectively framed upon them.

We may, indeed, fairly waive the consideration of the miscellaneous assemblage of beings of inferior organization, provisionally brought together under the term *Radiata*, if the position for which we strenuously contend can be satisfactorily established with respect to the three higher grand divisions of the animal kingdom, the mutual relations of the component members of which are tolerably understood; and proceed next to remark that neither of the four classes into which the *Vertebrata* are divided grade into each other, any more than those superior groups on which we have been commenting, each being distinct in itself, so that no one species is referred to either of them with the slightest hesitation; or if, in

some very few cases, as that of the *Ornithorhynchus*, an idea once prevailed that the essential characters of two classes were combined, it required only more accurate information and increased knowledge of the animal entirely to dispel the illusion, and to destroy altogether the fabulous and mistaken data upon which it was vainly asserted, for a while, by some credulous and superficial writers, to hold a dubious or mediate station.* Descending, however, in the scale, as the groups successively decrease in value, and consequently present less strongly-marked differences, it oftentimes becomes proportionally difficult to state their distinctive characters in general terms, to define them with precision and brevity, even though a practised ken may at once recognise them: it being on a combination of many characters that all natural groups are aggregated, the majority of which, but not necessarily the whole, are present in every comprised species; whence it commonly happens that different of these characters disappear in turn; so that (even in obvious groups) there may be none of general application. Any one character, therefore, which is peculiar to a group, or in so far peculiar that it does not occur in any proximate division, if applicable to all the members of that group—(which is very frequently the case, as natural groups, however low in the series, are apt to possess such characters)—acquires much value as a means of ready discrimina-

* It may be proper to remark here that we are quite aware of the important negative relations which the Ovoviviparous *Mammalia* collectively—viz. the *Marsupialia* and *Monotremata* of Cuvier—bear to the Oviparous *Vertebrata* collectively, as opposed to the ordinary or Placental *Mammalia*. In the structure of the brain, for instance, the hemispheres of which are connected by a *corpus callosum* only in the Placental *Mammalia* (as recently ascertained by Professor Owen), there being no trace of this in the Ovoviviparous sub-class of *Mammalia*, any more than in the three Oviparous classes, while it is almost equally developed throughout the Placental sub-class; in the Beaver proportionally as much as in Man. Accordingly, then, there is no gradual linking from one to the other of these two great primary groups of *Mammalia* in the particular specified, any more than in various other characters unnecessary to detail; and we are led to recognise, therefore, a *dichotomous* sub-division of the class, analogous to that of the *Reptilia* into Ordinary and Batrachian Reptiles, or, in other words, two separate subordinate types of conformation, which do not pass into each other, and the inferior of which is less elevated above the Oviparous classes than the other. In like manner, the Ovoviviparous sub-class rigorously sub-divides into the orders *Marsupialia* and *Monotremata* of Cuvier, the latter of which is again less highly organized than the other, and upon this negative principle is reduced to bear a still closer resemblance to the Oviparous classes generally, as particularly observable in the simplicity of the construction of the internal ear, &c.

tion, and so of precluding the necessity of any tedious circumlocution in rendering a specification of the exceptionable characters, even although, considered in a physiological point of view, it may be of trivial or unappreciable importance. From this actual want of physiological importance may, indeed, sometimes arise the constancy of such characters, which thus remain to indicate the obscured affinities of *aberrant* species, or those which deviate in other respects from the ordinary collective characters of their group, in consequence of secondary modifications (to be explained presently) having reference to some particular mode of life.

There are numerous groups, however, of all degrees of value, even the lowest assemblages of species, of which the integrity is conspicuously manifest, and the definition easy. Such groups, no matter how subordinate, may comprehend an immense number of species; and (to proceed now to the main difficulty of arriving at a sound classification) these species may be variously modified upon the same especial type, in adaptation to very different modes of life, so that, on a cursory view, their mutual affinity may not be apparent, the more especially as analogous modifications not unfrequently occur of different types, the species exhibiting which display, in consequence, much superficial resemblance, greater, of course, in proportion as the minor types on which they are respectively organized are more nearly allied together: thus, the analogous modifications of two ordinal types of the same class resemble each other, of necessity, more extensively than those of two different classes, &c. This latter apparent, but unintrinsic, similitude, is distinguished by the term *analogy*, as opposed to *affinity*.

But few of those extraordinary species of animals, which, at first sight, appear to be most widely removed from all others, are framed on an especial sub-type, or cognizable subordinate model of construction, of more than generic systematic value; being simply modifications of the same particular type on which certain other animals are organized, the exclusive characters of which are traceable on analytical scrutiny. Thus, the Giraffe is essentially a modified Deer, with persistent horns; the Flamingo a modified Lamellirostral bird, or member of the Goose tribe, as intimated by its whole anatomy, internal as well as external. Man himself displays the same peculiar conformation as the three genera of Apes (*Trogodytes*, *Satyros*, and *Hylobates*),* but extensively modified for

* These alone, of all the Anthropoid animals, have the liver divided as in Man, a vermiform appendage to the cœcum, a similar hyoid bone, &c. We

exclusively ground habits, a perfectly erect attitude, and the other attributes of humanity, wherein the different form and great development of his lower limbs may be resolved, together with other analogous variations. Even his amazingly developed brain is merely a difference in degree, a further carrying out of the same relative disparity which is observable in the brain of the Dog as compared with that of the Rabbit; not a difference of organic structure, acquired by the superaddition of component parts, such as is exemplified in the brains of all the Placental *Mammalia*, as compared with those of the rest of the *Vertebrata*. According to M. Geoffroy, "the brain of a young Ourang bears a very close similitude to that of a child; and the skull, also, might be taken, at an early age, for that of the latter, were it not for the development of the bones of the face. But it happens," continues that profound anatomist, "in consequence of its advance in age, that the brain ceases to enlarge, while its case continually increases. The latter becomes thickened, but in an unequal degree; enormous bony ridges appear, and the animal assumes a frightful aspect. When we compare the effects of age in Man and the Ourang, the difference is seen to be, that, in the latter, there is a superdevelopment of the osseous, muscular, and tegumentary systems, more towards the upper part than the lower, while the development of the brain is earlier arrested." The *vis formativa* simply takes a different direction, in order to develop the mechanism required to employ effectively the huge permanent canines; whence the organ and function of intelligence remain stationary at their transient condition in the child, but modified, of course, by the completion and agency of the incentives incidental to maturity.

To pursue this subject further, on the present occasion, would be irrelevant; but we may nevertheless venture to remark, that, consistently with the nature of those differences of physical conformation which the bodily frame of Man offers when compared with those of the restricted Apes (and indeed the rest of the *Quadrumana*, Cuv.), we can perceive no sufficient reason for distinguishing him as a separate order—*Bimana*, as opposed to *Quadrumana*; inasmuch as—however considerable may be the amount of those secondary or adaptive modifications which his structure so conspi-

recognise two other equivalent sub-types among the *Catarrhina* (Geof.), viz. that constituted by the two genera *Semnopithecus* and *Colobus*, and that by the remainder, or the sub-divisions *Cercopithecus*, *Cercocebus*, *Macacus*, *Inuus*, and *Cynocephalus*; each of these three higher divisions presenting exclusive characters, unnecessary to detail here.

cuously exhibits—even these have assuredly far less comprehensive influence on the entire organism, than the analogous modifications which the Seals, among the *Carnivora* (to select one of a multitude of instances), present in reference to their particular sphere of action ; and we are indisposed to concede that equivalent groups are ever simple modifications of each other, a circumstance which implies their non-distinctness, or unity as a special higher group, that cannot be *dismembered* upon such a principle, to whatever extent it may admit of *sub-division*. Conformably, then, with these premises, we hold the zoological station of Man to be as follows : after admitting him, as all must necessarily agree to do, into the kingdom and sub-kingdom *Animalia Vertebrata*, and class and sub-class *Mammalia Vivipara* or *Placentalia*, we conceive it necessary (omitting two succeeding gradations in the descending scale, as requiring a page or two of explanation) to include him among the *Cheiro-poda*—or *Bimana* and *Quadrumana*, Cuv. united—then among the first of three divisions of the *Cheiro-poda* indicated by M. Geoffroy, viz. the *Catarrhina*, *Platyrrhina*, and *Strepsirrhina* ; and, finally, in the first of three sub-divisions of the *Catarrhina*, consisting only of Man and the Apes, where we deem the genus *Homo* to be of equal systematic value with the three other genera or sub-genera (of the Chimpanzee, Ourangs, and Gibbons) collectively. Indeed, it may fairly be interrogated where, throughout the *systema naturæ*, does another instance occur of any genera so nearly allied, in total conformation, as Man is to the Chimpanzee and Ourangs, which genera are placed by modern physiologists in distinct *orders* ?*

* It is gratuitous to suppose that by these remarks, which may be resolved into a simple statement of facts, we seek to degrade the human race intellectually, as some very sensitive readers may be apt to imagine : all that we have endeavoured to shew is, that, as concerns the zoological system, which reposes on physical structure only, and the consequent physiological relations of different species of beings, the human subject presents a mere modification of the same particular minor sub-type, as that upon which the Apes only are besides organized ; the latter presenting the more ordinary or normal developments proper to the major group *Cheiro-poda*, from which Man alone remarkably deviates, in consequence of a general adaptation to very peculiar habits and requirements, just as, in a less degree, the Giraffe differs from the rest of the Deer group, and from all the other horned Ruminants, in obvious reference to less anomalous peculiar habits. It being ordained, in brief, that a creature of flesh and blood should fulfil man's mundane destiny, such a creature was accordingly produced by modifying the particular model of construction of the *Vertebrata* generally, and of the Apes among the Placental *Mammalia* especially ; wherefore, we contend that, as Man is admitted among the *Vertebrata* in the system of zoological arrangement, so also is it

It is difficult to avoid digressing when treating on systematic natural history, as every statement requires its proof, which may involve the discussion of miscellaneous topics. We might next proceed to notice the excessive irregularity of groups of equal value, as shown by every conceivable mode of variation; viz. with respect to the number of species they may severally comprise, or may have comprised during former epochs of the earth's history; the number of separate minor types they may comprehend, which bears no proportion to that of species; also the amount of adaptive modification they may respectively exhibit, which again is equally indefinite, both as regards the number of species and sub-typical forms; and, lastly, the distribution of them in the horizontal as well as vertical series, which can as little be reduced to rule or proposition, some extensively represented types being strictly confined to particular regions or periods of time, while others are in either respect, or both, of general diffusion, or they are circumscribed at the present era, though formerly spread over a wide area, &c.* But, reserving these various subjects for future comment in the pages of *The Analyst*, we will close the present introductory remarks, into which we have almost unconsciously been led, by exemplifying the analogous modification of diverse types, or the relation of what is currently termed *analogy*, as distinguished from *affinity*. A remarkable illustration of this superficial similitude, induced by the correspondency of the *adaptive* modifications in reference to habit, such as occasions the *Cetacea* to assume the outside form of fishes, while they retain every essential characteristic of their class (*Mammalia*), is afforded in the class of birds, by the familiarly-known genera of the Swifts and the Swallows, which almost every systematist (and, we believe, without exception, every British systematist) has erred in placing together in zoological classification. The two genera in question are alike modified for seeking and capturing their insect prey on the wing; and are both furnished, therefore, with a remarkably wide gape, long wings, and generally a forked tail to assist in steering; while their legs (which are little used for progression) are short and inconspicuous. But here their whole similitude ceases; for they differ astonishingly in every detail of their conformation, which

necessary to include him in a particular group with the Apes, whatever may be the notions entertained of his distinctness in other respects, with which zoology has no sort of concern.

* Strange that, in the face of such conspicuously obvious facts, numerous zoologists should still contend for uniformity in the amount of variation of groups, as implied by their ternary, quinary, septenary systems, &c.!

is based on very distinct ordinal sub-types of form. The Swallow, framed on the same model as every singing-bird, retains all the very numerous peculiarities of structure observable throughout the exceedingly extensive group *Cantores* (Nobis); and neither in its skeleton, digestive nor vocal organs, &c., presents any essential difference from a Sparrow, Robin, or Tree-creeper, from which it varies only in minor adaptive modifications, such as the mere relative length of limbs, or the degrees of development of parts common to all. The Swift presents not a single one of those characters, but differs most materially in the structure of its whole skeleton and entire anatomy; its vocal apparatus, as in all the rest of its group (the *Strepitores*, Nobis), not being complicated by peculiar muscles, the function of which is to inflect the voice (as in every member of the group to which the Swallow appertains), it can only utter a discordant scream, while the Swallow modulates the tone of its voice, and *sings*. But, without entering further into a specification of internal distinctions, the exterior anatomy of the Swift and Swallow, even to the structure of any single feather, or as observable in the conformation of the bill and feet, in the number of tail-feathers (which, in the group to which the Swallow belongs, is *invariably* twelve; while in the Swifts, as in many other *Strepitores*, there are only ten), in short, in every imaginable particular that can be supposed to indicate *affinity* or physiological proximity, these two *analogous* genera have no better claim to rank in the same order of the class of birds, than the Whale has, in consequence of its external resemblance to a fish, to be included in the class of fishes. We are fully prepared to state the veritable affinities of both the Swift and Swallow, but it would be out of place to do so on this occasion.

Having now, we trust, sufficiently elucidated the nature of the systematic relations of animals in general, and controverted the prevalent notion that all groups are, to a certain extent, arbitrary, we will proceed to our task of extricating various genera from the entanglement of *analogy*, to assign them a position in accordance with their intrinsic *affinity*; and recur at length to the consideration of the small group specified at the commencement of this article, as one wherein the dental characters—so important generally, as indicative of the affinities of *Mammalia*—become a deceptive guide to the systematist who would place unlimited confidence in the validity of that as of any other single character, considered without reference to the rest of the organization. In the *Carnivora* of the illustrious Cuvier, we recognise four primary sub-types of form, viz.

Digitigrada, Cuv. as restricted to the species which possess a cœcum ; *Pinnigrada*, Blainv. or the Seals ; *Subplantigrada*, Nobis, or the Weasel and Badger tribe ; and *Plantigrada*, Cuv. as limited to the genera included by that naturalist, which have two tuberculated molars on each side of both jaws.

At the head of the *Digitigrada*, the Dogs and Foxes hold their station, as a very distinct family—*Canidæ* ; distinguished by a combination of various characters from all the rest, and (*inter alia*) to mention one of dichotomous application, by the peculiar spiral form of the cœcum. In the other *Digitigrada* the cœcum is comparatively short, and not spiral ; and the tongue, which in the *Canidæ* is soft and smooth, is armed (with the only known exception of *Proteles*) with reverted spinous papillæ. *Mos eorum copulandi mos canum non est*, in consequence of a difference of structure. Save in the Mangouste group (*Herpestidinæ*), wherein the hairs of the fur are in general uniformly grizzled, very nearly all (and probably the whole of them when young) are more or less marked with a darker on a lighter tint of colouring ; and, with the final exception of a due proportion of the great genus *Felis*, they are all peculiar to the warm regions of the eastern hemisphere.

This last generalization applies properly to

THE CIVET FAMILY (*VIVERRIDÆ*),

Which comprehends all the species that are not Cats. They form an extremely natural group, the members of which are mostly distinguished by possessing an anal pouch more or less developed, or, in other words, a cavity or rudiment of the same, formed by two parallel and longitudinal folds of the skin, within which a number of pores open, from which an unctuous and odorous substance exudes, the product of peculiar glands. This substance constitutes, in certain species, the *civet* of commerce, a well-known perfume, formerly much more used than at present, when *musk* and *ambergris* were unknown. It is necessary to divide this family into three sub-families ; and to the first of these, or

THE HYÆNA SUB-FAMILY (*Hyæninæ*),

We will now confine our attention, the two other sub-families being that of the Civets (*Viverrinæ*), comprehending the genera Civet (*Viverra*), Genet (*Genetta*), Galet (*Cryptoprocta*, Ben., perhaps comprising *Eupleres*, Jourdan), Lisang (*Hemigalea*, Jour-

dan, including *Prionodon*, Horsf.), and Lutrel (*Cynogale*, Gray; *Limictis*, Blainville; *Potamophilus*, Kuhl); and that of the Mangoustes or Ichneumons (*Herpestidinae*), consisting of the Mangoustes (*Herpestes*), Surikate (*Ryzæna*), and Mangué (*Crossarchus*), of the *Règne Animal*, with their numerous subsequently proposed divisions, and apparently the *Urva* of Mr. Hodgson. In these two latter sub-families the body and tail are generally lengthened, and the limbs short: but in the first sub-family, or Hyæna group, the body is never attenuated, but rather the reverse; the limbs are comparatively elongated, and the tail, which is more or less brushy, seldom reaches to the ground. The head is carried low, and has large or long and pointed ears. There are, in general, only four toes to each foot, but with an internal rudiment in place of a thumb to the anterior, which in one genus (*Proteles*) is more developed, and even furnished with a claw, as in all the *Canidæ*. The fore-legs are more or less bent or crooked, turning outward at the wrist-joint; and the hinder brought forward in standing, which lowers the croup. Their figure is accordingly ungainly, and they have a limping gait when unexcited, and particularly when first rising up from repose. The greater number are eminently carrion-feeders, and prefer tainted flesh; are for the most part nocturnal, passing the day in caverns or burrows, often several together; some species of them prowling in concert, and all uttering the most dismal yells during their night rambles—a characteristic trait, in which they differ remarkably from the other *Viverridæ* (which are particularly silent animals). Their dental characters present extraordinary diversities, which, however, are not difficult to comprehend; and the intestinal canal of at least two of the three genera (the soft parts of the other not having been described, so far, at least, as we have been able to ascertain), are exceedingly prolonged, more so than in any other terrene *Carnivora*. The few living species all inhabit Africa, to which, with one exception, they are peculiar. The most dog-like of them are

THE LYCAONS,

(*Lycaon*,* Brookes; *Cynohyæna*, Blainville),

Which absolutely resemble the Dogs in their osteology, except that the anterior thumbs are rudimental, and seen only in the skeleton; and the nasal orifice (as in the Hyenas) is much larger. They have the same number of ribs (thirteen), and precisely the same dental characters,† possessing even the second inferior true molar, which occurs in no other *Digitigrada*, besides the *Canidæ*: their cranial laminæ even, which part the cerebrum from the cerebellum, are not more developed than in the Dogs; whereas, in all the other *Digitigrada*, they are much more developed: they have no glandular pouch near the anus, and it is probable that the tongue also is soft and smooth. On the other hand, however, their affinity to the Hyænas is so obvious, even to the style of colouring and markings of the skin, which in character resemble those of no *Canis*, that we find different naturalists of eminence including them in the distinct genus *Hyæna*. Of the anatomy of their soft parts we are uninformed; which is the more to be regretted, as there is every reason to suspect that therein will be found substantial proofs of the propriety of the arrangement here adopted, which the form of the cæcum alone would suffice to determine. This much is certain, that in coitu annexus non est, any more than in the Hyænas, which implies a structural difference from the *Canidæ* in one of their most marked characters; and, Hyæna-like, we read of the South African Lycaon, that “When this animal begins to walk or run after having been at rest for a time, it appears weak or even lame in the hind legs, like a Hyæna: it never barks, but gives utterance to a shrill sound, resembling *ho-ho-ho-ho-ho*; the sounds being almost lost in each other.”‡

* *Λυκαον*, Pliny; a term applied to some canine animal from India, and derived from *Λυκος*, *Lupus*, a Wolf. The animals which at present bear this generic title must not be confounded with the *Canis lycaon*, Linn. which refers to the Black Wolf of Europe, a very doubtful species. *Canis lycaon* of Fischer applies to one of them.

† Cuvier states, in his *Ossemens Fossiles*, that the small lobe in front of their false molars is rather more developed; but even this slight difference we are unable to perceive in a skull of the ordinary Cape species now before us.

‡ Dr. Andrew Smith's *African Zoology*, p. 43.

We believe this to be the true statement of the affinities of the Lycaons: that they are not, physiologically, more nearly related to the *Canidæ* than the other *Hyæninæ*; but that, in common with the Dogs, they present the normal characters of the higher group *Digitigrada*, from which all the other genera recede more or less, and the rest of the *Hyæninæ* very remarkably: those distinctions which especially characterize the minor type of *Canidæ*, will, we conceive, be vainly sought for in the anatomy of the Lycaons; the resemblance of which to the Dogs is rather of a negative kind, a relationship of analogy, and not affinity, in reference to similarity of habit.* It is not unlikely that certain large fossil species, resembling in like manner the *Canidæ*, should rather range in the present group.

The Lycaons are swift, long-legged animals, that hunt in organized packs, and by perseverance seldom fail to weary out the fleetest ruminants. Though principally nocturnal, they frequently pursue their prey by day; and individuals occasionally crouch in wait for it, concealed in any slight cover. Sparrman describes them as the most destructive to Sheep and Goats of the wild animals of South Africa, attacking not merely to allay their appetite, but killing or wounding as many as they can. Unlike the *Hyæna*, they appear to be endowed with much courage, and will sometimes engage in conflict with a Dog of superior strength. The packs hunt admirably in concert; and on one occasion, relates Sparrman, a number of them had the hardihood to return after a man on horseback, who had been pursuing them. They are well-formed for speed, standing higher on the legs than any wild species of *Canis*; have large, ample ears, and singularly variegated colouring, disposed in irregular patches; with head resembling that of a *Hyæna*, and similar thick neck (a common character of the *Viverridæ*); and they are restricted in their distribution to Africa, the principal habitat of the *Hyæninæ*.

There appear to be at least two species:—

* The second inferior true molar, if not found in the remaining *Digitigrada*, occurs in other species of the next higher group, *Carnivora*, as in the restricted *Plantigrada* generally.

THE MARBLED LYCAON,

(*L. marmoratus*, Nobis; *Canis pictus*, Ruppell; not *Hyæna picta* of Temminck, which refers to the other).

Inhabits Abyssinia, where it sometimes attacks man, and is much feared by the natives. Individuals, observes Dr. Ruppell, often crouch and lie in wait for small Mammalia. It is a very handsome animal, distinguished by its white ground-colour.

Length, to the tail, three feet and a half; the tail, sixteen inches: height at the shoulders above two feet, the croup lower. General colour, greyish-white; the chin black, which colour extends backwards on the sides of the neck, forming a streak which is said to be of constant occurrence; some large irregular patches of chestnut-brown, bordered with black, are variously disposed upon the body and limbs; and the terminal greater portion of the tail is white, surmounted by a narrow black ring, above which the colour is rufous. In both this and the following species, the terminal two-thirds of the tail are stated to be white invariably; but in a specimen of the ordinary Cape Lycaon, preserved in the museum of the Zoological Society, there is no white on the tail, which, however, is very unusual.

THE TORTOISESHELL LYCAON,

(*L. pictus*:* *Hyæna picta*, Temm.; *H. venatica*, Burchell; *Lycaon tricolor*, Brookes; *Canis lycaon*, Fischer),

Or *Wilde Houd* of the Cape colonists, is smaller, with a chestnut ground-colour: measuring about two feet high and three in length, exclusive of the tail. Its ground-colour is sandy-bay or ochreous-yellow, shaded with darker hairs; and irregularly blotched and brindled with black, mingled in various parts with patches of white. The legs are marked in the same manner, and tail similar to that of the other, forming a moderate sized and handsome brush in both species. The female is rather smaller and less brightly coloured, with generally fewer markings. Young seemingly undescribed.

* Dr. Smith has applied the specific appellation *pictus*, which belongs to this species, to the other in his *African Zoology*, calling the present one *Lycaon typicus*.

Dr. Smith observes, "The Cape farmers are acquainted with two species of what they denominate the *Wilde Hond*; the one they describe as larger, darker coloured, and much more ferocious than the other."* Sparrman had long previously published the same hearsay report, except that the smaller kind, according to his account, would seem to be the darker.†

The Tortoiseshell Lycaon is not uncommon in South Africa, and is troublesome at the frontier settlements near the Cape. Dr. Burchell, who brought a living specimen to this country, describes it as swift, fierce, and active. "Sheep and Oxen," he relates, "are particularly subject to its attacks; it hefirst openly, but the latter only by stealth, surprising them in their sleep, and suddenly biting off their tail, which the large opening and great muscular power of its jaws, enable it to do with ease." That respectable traveller, however, does not mention that he personally witnessed this act, although he saw cattle that were thus mutilated; and we are disposed, therefore, to suspect that the real culprit was the formidable Spotted Hyæna, the teeth and jaws of which are fully adequate to the performance of such a feat, which assuredly does not seem to be the case with those of the Tortoiseshell Lycaon, in which species they are less powerful than in a common Pointer. A Spotted Hyæna, if not under apprehension of being molested, would covertly attack the animal, by maiming it more severely; but these cunning and cowardly brutes would not improbably seize a hasty opportunity of snapping off the tail of a large animal, and immediately escape with it, if fearful of encountering danger.

Dr. Burchell's specimen continued ferocious, while chained up in his stable yard, for more than a year, and the man who fed it "dared never to venture his hand upon it." It, however, became familiar with a Dog, its companion. Another, formerly in the Tower menagerie, arrived with a young Cape Lion, with which it agreed perfectly till the Lion became too strong and rough in its play, when the Lycaon was associated with a Striped and two Spotted Hyænas, and all lived tolerably well together in the same den. If taken young, and suffered to run about, there is little doubt it might be readily domesticated; but those few individuals which we have seen in captivity were all savage and unsafe to

* *African Zoology*, p. 44.

† "Il y en a, dit-on, de deux especes; les uns plus grands, d'une couleur rougeâtre avec des taches noires; les autres moins grandes et plus bruns."—French edition of Sparrman's *Travels*, i., 207.

handle, even by their keepers. In travelling menageries, this animal is commonly termed the *Tortoiseshell Hyæna*.

We now pass to a genus, the dentition and general structure of which, in reference to a special object, exhibits remarkable modification.

THE HYÆNAS (*Hyæna*,* Storr),

Are the largest of the *Viverridæ*, few Dogs surpassing some of them in bulk and stature. Their prodigious strength of jaw, which far exceeds that of every other animal, is attained by a general modification of the parts in any way concerned to produce it. The muzzle is shortened, while the scissor-teeth† and false molars are much enlarged; hence the tuberculous grinders are necessarily both sacrificed in the lower jaw, and one of them in the upper, the other being exceedingly reduced, and not situate behind the scissor-tooth, where there is no room left for it but inward of its posterior extremity. The upper scissor-tooth has the usual great internal rooted tubercle; but the inferior—save in *H. vulgaris*—has none, presenting only two stout and keenly-cutting lobes, with merely a trace of the hindward tuberculous portion in *H. crocuta* and the fossil *H. spelæa*, which however is more developed in the others: the small retained true grinder is also most reduced in *H. crocuta*, and the extinct species adverted to. There are three anterior false molars each side of both jaws, the first, particularly above, comparatively small; the third above and second below, enormously bulky; the third inferior somewhat less, and the second above moderate; all forming stout cones, in which the secondary cusps merge almost to obliteration in *H. crocuta* and *H. spelæa*, less so in *H. brunnea*, and still less in *H. vulgaris*, the dentition of which is least typical of any. The external pair of superior incisive teeth are much enlarged and lengthened, and the incisors generally present broad opposing surfaces. In conformity with this increased strength and massiveness of the cutting molars, the jaws are necessarily stout in

* *Tayna*, a Sow; in reference, perhaps, to the arched and bristled back of the species known to the ancients, or possibly to its habit of scratching up the surface of the soil for bulbs.

† We use this expressive term to designate the carnivorous or cutting molar, styled the *carnassier* by the French: this tooth is essentially the last of the anterior or false molars, peculiarly modified throughout the *Fera*, Lin.

proportion ; and the sagittal crest is more developed than in any other animal. The neck, which is huge and furnished with prodigious muscles, is so fixed and rigid that its vertebræ occasionally become anchylosed : hence has originated the statement that these animals have only one bone in the neck. With the same total number of dorsal and lumbar vertebræ as the Dogs and Lycaons, the Hyænas have two additional pairs of ribs, which alters the relative number of those vertebræ, as commonly specified. All their ribs, moreover, are considerably stouter and more massive, as is the rest of the skeleton ; while the immense development of the spinal processes, still maintaining a reference to their excessive strength of jaw, occasions the arched form of the back, and contributes thus to impart their characteristic physiognomy. The tongue, assuming the character of the *Viverridæ* and *Felidæ* generally, is furnished with a circular collection of reverted spines, which enables them to lick the flesh from the bones of their prey ; and beneath the anus is situate a deep and glandular pouch, wherein a fetid matter is secreted, having the appearance and consistence of tallow.* These animals, finally, have a short and massive body, and long and crooked fore-limbs, which bend considerably at the wrist-joint ; their hind limbs are shorter, and claws adapted for scratching up the ground. The ears are large and directed forward ; the eyes full and brilliant, luminous in the dark, and incapable of bearing a strong light ; and the pituitary membrane of the internal nostrils (the orifice of which is large and broad in the cranium) amply developed.

Hyænas subsist, by preference, on corrupted flesh, and do not habitually exercise their power of masticating bones, except by day, leisurely, in their retreats. It is only in default of finding dead carcasses that they attack living animals, when they commit dreadful havoc with the flocks, and even destroy cattle ; never venturing, however, to attack any creature that boldly confronts them, but threatening, and using all the grimace in their power to frighten them and induce them to flee, when the Hyæna is at once emboldened to pursue and seize them. Their plan is always to approach their intended victim unawares, and maim it by a gripe behind, repeating this cowardly procedure till it falls disabled. In no instance do they attack the feeblest prey openly and in front ; while their finely sensitive olfactory organ enables them to discover young or sleeping ani-

* From the existence of this cavity, the orifice of which is, however, transverse, the ancients were induced to believe that the Hyæna was hermaphrodite.

mals, which latter would be more liable to suffer from their depredations, if the continual melancholy howling of their enemy failed to convey a timely intimation of his approach. Even when rebuffed, however, they still linger, and watch their opportunity of making a covert attack, requiring corresponding vigilance on the part of the assailed. It is well that their courage is disproportionate to their formidable armature. They are restless, wandering beings, that prowl about from dusk till morning, and "make night hideous" with their incessant dismal howling, which only stops when they have at length discovered a carcass or other prey; and like the rest of the carrion-feeding mammalia, they disinter bodies from the grave, which has given rise to numerous superstitions connected with them. Cunning and suspicious in the extreme, they examine every object with which they are not perfectly familiar with the utmost distrust; and there are consequently no animals more difficult to outwit by snares.* They steal about human habitations where all is quiet within, and but too frequently gain admittance to the insecure dwellings of the Africans, when, disregarding calves and other tender live stock that are customarily brought in at night, and oftentimes passing by a fire, they mostly prefer to take an infant from the mother's kaross (doubtless on account of its being more easily removed), and this in such a gentle and cautious manner that the bereaved parent is commonly unconscious of her loss until the cries of her child have reached her from without, when a close prisoner in the jaws of the monster.† If an entrance cannot be

* "The more common methods employed against beasts of prey," writes Dr. A. Smith, of the Spotted Hyæna, "such as spring guns, traps, &c. do not succeed in his case. During his nocturnal wanderings, he minutely examines every object that presents itself to his notice with which he is not perfectly familiar; and if he see occasion to suspect that it can injure him he will turn back, and make his way in an opposite direction. Thus, cords or leathern thongs, which are often laid across the footpaths the Hyæna is accustomed to travel upon, and which are attached to the triggers of loaded guns, with the design that his contact with the thong may cause the discharge of the gun in his direction, are very carefully examined by him; and the usual result of his examination is, his deciding against trusting himself in contact with them. The Cape farmers have so often observed this result, that they now very rarely attempt his destruction by such means, but occasionally succeed by substituting for cords the delicate stems of creeping plants, which are regarded by him without suspicion until he has once actually suffered through them. Many other ingenious methods, suggested by the necessity of the case, have been adopted by the farmers for the destruction of Hyænas."—*Catalogue of the late African Museum.*

† Mr. Steedman, in his *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of South*

effected, they will carry off culinary utensils, or whatever may lie in their way that smells of food ; and the next morning, if the footsteps of the beast be followed (as is customary on such occasions), the article may be found at the distance of perhaps a mile, hidden in some bush, or slightly buried in the soil. They feed additionally, however, and sometimes to a considerable extent, on bulbs, which they scratch up ; and so fastidious (according to the traveller Bruce) is the Striped Hyæna in the choice of this vegetable diet, that, on crushing them, it rejects all that manifest any stain or flavour of rottenness, devouring only the very finest. This fact of their resorting partly to vegetable regimen derives a particular interest from the circumstance of the almost total atrophy of the tuberculated portion of their cheek-teeth.

Of the Hyæna's amazing power of jaw, the following notice occurs in Dr. Buckland's *Reliquiæ Deluvianæ*, as observed by him in an individual of the Spotted species (*H. crocuta*). "The shin bone of an Ox being presented to this Hyæna, he began to bite off with his molar teeth large fragments from its upper extremity, and swallowed them whole as often as they were broken off. On his reaching the medullary cavity the bone split into angular fragments, many of which he caught up greedily, and swallowed entire. He went on cracking it till he had extracted all the marrow, licking out the lowest portion of it with his tongue : this done, he left untouched the lower condyle, which contains no marrow, and is very hard. * * * I gave the animal successively three shin bones of a Sheep ; he snapped them asunder in a moment, dividing each into two parts only, which he swallowed entire, without the smallest mastication. On the keeper putting a spar of wood two inches in diameter into his den, he cracked it in pieces as if it had

Africa, furnishes some most appalling accounts of the rapacity of the Spotted Hyæna. He states that Mr. Shepstone (a missionary), in a letter from Mamboland, relates that the nightly attacks of *Wolves*, as these animals are currently denominated in South Africa, have been very destructive among the children and youth ; for within a few months not fewer than forty instances came to his knowledge, wherein that beast had made a most dreadful havoc. Among other cases, Mr. Shepstone particularizes two, one that of a boy about ten years of age, and the other of a little girl about eight, who had been carried off by this species and wretchedly mangled, but were recovered by the attention of that gentleman and his companions. Niebuhr likewise informs us that the Striped Hyænas about Gamboon, in the season when the inhabitants sleep in the open air, snatch away children from the sides of their parents.—*Descr. Arabie*, 147, as quoted by Pennant.

been touchwood, and in a minute the whole was reduced to a mass of splinters. The power of his jaws far exceeded any animal force of the kind I ever saw exerted, and reminded me of nothing so much as a miner's crushing mill, or the scissors with which they cut off bars of iron or copper in the metal foundries."*

The strength of Hyænas, as manifested by their power of dragging away large carcases, is strikingly exemplified in Col. Denham's narrative. At Kouka, that traveller relates that the Striped Hyænas (*Dhubba*), which were everywhere in legions, became so extremely ravenous that a large village had been attacked by them the night before his last visit to it, and absolutely carried by storm, notwithstanding defences nearly six feet high of branches of the prickly tulloh; and two Donkeys, whose flesh these animals are, according to that author, particularly fond of, were carried off, despite the efforts of the people. "We constantly," continues Col. Denham, "heard them close to the walls of our own town at nights, and on a gate being left partly open they would enter, and carry off any unfortunate animal that they could find in the streets."† A single Striped Hyæna has been seen to make off with a negress, holding her by one leg; and running thus at a brisk pace, till she was fortunately rescued.‡

The natural character of Hyænas is, however, crafty in the extreme, but not bold; the slightest show of resistance sufficing generally to keep them aloof. It is only when unusually urged by hunger that the Striped species derives a confidence from acting in concert, doubtless the result of experience in some degree; and the solitary Spotted Hyæna, in all likelihood famished to desperation, has been known to attack and destroy even the Rhinoceros:§ they

* Dr. Knox, in a paper on the habits of these animals (*Wern. Trans.* iv, 383) states that he never knew them to crunch the bones of their prey, leaving the skeleton untouched. It nevertheless appears, however, from Dr. Smith's interesting paper on the *H. brunnea* (*Linn. Trans.* vol. xv), that they certainly do convey bones to the places of their diurnal retreat, and there feed on them, as commented upon by Dr. Buckland and others. We have already noticed, in the text, their propensity to carry off articles that are less digestible: among various authorities for which statement, see Capt. Sir J. Alexander's narrative of his late expedition of discovery into South Africa, vol. ii., 235.

† p. 187.

‡ Bosman, 295.

§ "I had thought," writes Sir J. Alexander, "that the African Rhinoceros had no superior, none that he need fear, save all-destroying Man; when my companion informed me that he had once found a Rhinoceros that had been

take advantage of any animal that manifests the least fear of them, but are singularly cowardly, and their fierceness results from necessity rather than choice, as they always evince a preference for what they find dead. The common notion that they are untameable, is devoid of foundation ; for, as the late excellent naturalist, Mr. Bennett, remarked, (in his *Tower Menagerie*,) there is even scarcely any animal that submits with greater facility to the control of Man ; and they are even capable of much attachment to persons who kindly treat them. We have seen both the Striped and Spotted Hyænas as gentle as Dogs, and freely handled them ;* and they have been known to recognise a former master after several year's absence, and demonstrate as much joy on the occasion as could be evinced by any Dog. Sir J. Barrow even informs us, in his journey to the Cape, that the Spotted Hyæna has been tamed in the district of Schneuberg, where it is considered more serviceable for the chase than the Dog, and fully equal to that animal in intelligence and fidelity ; and Col. Sykes observes of the Striped one (*Turrus* of the Mahrattas) that it is susceptible of the same domestication as a Dog.† Their awkward-looking proportions, however, unprepossessing aspect, and hatefully shrieking voice, must ever prevent them from becoming favourite domestic animals.

Dr. Andrew Smith narrates a curious fact, concerning the tallow-like secretion of the *nates*, of an individual of the Brown species (*H. brunnea*) which he long possessed in confinement, and which fact we have succeeded in ascertaining (after much fruitless inquiry) in the instances of both the others. The animal used to relieve itself of it by pressing that part always against a particular stone in its prison, when it issued forth rather copiously, and immediately congealed upon the stone. This substance appeared to be necessary, taken into the stomach, to promote digestion ; for the Hyæna always resorted to it for that purpose after a meal, and regularly as it arose from rest.‡ It may be borne in mind that the intestines of these animals are unusually prolonged ; though the same occurs in

just killed by a Hyæna. It had followed the giant brute for some time (as appeared by the foot-marks), and had bitten it behind with its terrible jaws, till the Rhinoceros fell and painfully died."—*Expedition II.*, 6.

* On such occasions, when fondled, they roll over upon the back like a Spaniel, generally first sinking upon the knees : and some individuals shriek and "howl with delight" most horribly when thus noticed.

† *Proceedings of the Zoological Society*, 1836, p. 31.

‡ *Linn. Trans.*, vol. xv.

the next genus (*Proteles*), which negatives the supposition that the digestion of bones required the medicament adverted to ; while it is not altogether consonant with the reason assigned by Cuvier for the shortness of the intestinal canal in the *Carnivora* generally, “à cause de la nature substantielle de leurs aliments, et pour éviter la putréfaction que la chair éprouverait en séjournant trop long-temps dans un canal prolongé :” the Hyænas and Protle subsisting normally on flesh already putrifying, which might accordingly be inferred, from the augmentation of chyle-absorbing surface, to yield a proportionally reduced amount of nutriment.

There are three living species of this genus, very obviously distinct from each other.

THE SPOTTED HYÆNA

(*H. crocuta*, Schreber ; *H. maculata*, Temm. ; *H. capensis*, Desm.)

Is the largest of them, and also, as we have seen, the most *typical*, in so far as it deviates furthest from the ordinary dentition of the *Digitigrada* ; while in other respects it is equally characteristic with its congeners. It is at once distinguished by its numerous round black or reddish brown spots, upon a pale fulvous ground, its broad ears, and inconspicuous mane : its whiskers are less developed than in the others.

Length, from nose to base of tail, four feet and a half ; the tail, sixteen inches : height at the shoulder two feet eight inches, and at the croup about two feet three. General colour pale fulvous, inclining more or less to rufous, with numerous black and sometimes reddish-brown spots on the body and limbs, alike in no two individuals ;* the hairs on the hind neck and withers forming a short reversed mane, and the lower two-thirds of the tail tufted with long black hairs ; nose and muzzle black. “The ground colour,” observes Dr. Smith, “in young individuals, is whitish, instead of pale fulvous ; the spots are deep black, and the under parts quite black,” instead of dull white. “In still younger ones, the spots are often not distinct, the surface exhibiting rather a brindled appearance ; and in very young ones the fur is of a very dark, dull slate-colour, verging

* In Cuvier's *Ossements Fossiles*, two varieties are indicated as respects the colouring ; but we have vainly sought to identify these varieties by comparing the descriptions of them with specimens, which latter present great individual variation.

towards black :”* a statement confirmed by some cubs recently brought forth in Mr. Wombwell’s menagerie.

This animal is peculiar to South Africa, where it is numerous, and generally diffused ; being known as the *Wolf* or *Tiger Wolf* to the Cape colonists : it is also sometimes designated the *Laughing Hyæna*. When running about, it often doubles down the ears, which are then inconspicuous ; and frequently turns up the tail, like a Dog. Anecdotes of it abound in the writings of most South African travellers.

“ It seldom,” remarks Dr. Smith, “ if ever, moves abroad during the day, but passes that period in a state of repose, either in holes of the ground, or in retired situations densely covered with brush. Towards night-fall his howlings are regularly heard, announcing to the various animals the approach of their voracious enemy, and thus enabling many of them to escape his wiles. The propensity this beast has for howling seems, therefore, to be disadvantageous to him ; and if his almost continual noise be not intended to put the animals upon which he preys upon their guard, its actual purpose is scarcely conceivable,” unless it be to inspire them with terror, and thus to facilitate his attacks. “ Some have surmised it to be his call to creatures of his own species ; but that this is not the case is certain from the fact that Hyænas are heard to utter their supposed call even while separating from each other farther and farther as each cry is uttered ; in addition to which, it may be remarked that it is contrary to the habit of this animal to hunt in company, or even to congregate in great numbers, save when assembled by the temptation of abundance of carrion. A still further proof that the Hyæna’s cry is not a friendly call to his own species, may be found in the fact that when individual Hyænas have found a dead animal, they cease to utter their melancholy howl, as if in fear of calling participators of the feast.

“ Till lately,” adds the author, in conclusion of a very interesting account,† “ Hyænas were in the habit of paying nightly visits to the streets of Cape Town, and were regarded as very useful in carrying away the animal refuse, which might otherwise have been disagreeable. This, however, no longer occurs, partly, perhaps, from better regulations now existing in the town, and partly from the number of these animals having very greatly decreased. Even now, however, individual Hyænas occasionally approach the town, and their howlings are sometimes heard under Table Mountain, and in other direc-

* *African Zoology*, p. 55.

† Quoted in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, Art. Hyæna.

tions, during the nights. In the countries inhabited by the Caffres they are very numerous and daring, generally approaching the villages during the night, and attempting, either by force or stratagem, to pass the wattles by which the houses are defended, when, if successful, they not unfrequently carry off some young child of the family. Scars and marks in different parts of the body often testify to the traveller how dangerous a foe the natives have in this animal.*"

THE ORDINARY FOSSIL HYÆNA OF EUROPE.

(*H. spelæa*, Goldfuss),†

Was very closely allied to the preceding species, but still larger: its remains occur rather plentifully in cavern deposits, in various parts of Europe, including the British isles. No bones of this genus have hitherto been found in America, where the geographical distribution of the living *Viverridæ* renders it probable that Hyænas never existed.‡

The rest of the living *Hyæninæ* have a conspicuous dorsal mane, and amazingly stout wiry moustaches. Their ears are long and pointed, and they are marked with dark transverse stripes.

THE BROWN HYÆNA,

(*H. brunnea*, Thunberg; *H. villosa*, Smith; *H. fusca*, Desm.; also quoted by Lesson as *H. rufa*, Cuv.)

Is the second Cape species, and intermediate in its dentition to the two other living Hyænas; differing from the Spotted in the greater de-

* *Catalogue of the late South African Museum.*

† Various other extinct species have been described, as *H. spelæa major*, Goldfuss; *H. prisca* (*Hyène rayée fossile*), M. de Serres; *H. intermedia*, *ibid.*; *H. Perrierii*, Brav. Croiz. and Job; *H. avernensis*, *ibid.*; and *H. dubia*, *ibid.*: the whole of these European.

‡ The genus *Bassaris* of Lichtenstein, ranged by De Blainville and others near the Musangs (*Paradoxurus*), appears to be a true Plantigrade, allied to the Racoons and Coatimondis; an idea first suggested to us by our valued friend Mr. Waterhouse, the able curator of the Zoological Society's museum. Since penning this, we have met with a brief notice of the anatomy of *Bassaris*, by Prof. de Blainville, in the *Annales d'Anatomie et Physiologie* for February, 1839, p. 58, which completely sets at rest the question, in our mind, of the animal being a true Plantigrade."

velopment of the secondary lobes of its false molars, in the superior size of the small retained upper true molar, and in the existence of a well-marked tuberculous portion behind the lower scissor-tooth; and from the Striped in the greater proportionate bulk of its molars generally, and the absence of an inner tubercle to the lower scissor-tooth, which is strongly marked in that species.* Its size is inferior to that of either, and externally it is at once distinguished by the very long, hanging brown hair, which clothes its back and sides, the limbs being barred with black. The largest specimen of several that we possess notes of, measured, according to Mr. Steedman, four feet four inches from nose to base of tail, the tail nine inches and a half, or with its hair one foot two; height at the shoulder two feet four, and two feet at the croup. "Hair of the whole body remarkably long, coarse, and shaggy," measuring six inches and upwards; "but short and crisp on the head, ears, and extremities. General colour of the head, body, and extremities, grizzled brown, from the long hairs being greyish towards the roots and brown at the points, marked on the sides and hips with large but rather indistinct transverse bands, of a deep vinous-brown colour. The legs, particularly the fore, are marked with transverse black bands, much more distinct and apparent than those on the body. Tail thickly covered with longer hair than in the Spotted Hyæna, of an uniform deep brown. The fore-arms and thighs are darker than the other parts of the animal; and a large collar of dirty, yellowish-white surrounds the throat and extends up the sides of the neck, occupying the entire space between the setting on of the head and the shoulders. Under each eye there is a large irregular black patch; the chin also is black, and a narrow band of the same colour marks the junction of the head and neck, bordered by the dirty-white collar before mentioned. The individual was aged, all the teeth being much worn. A cub, nineteen inches in length, exhibited the same general characters, except that the hair was shorter and more woolly: the dark transverse bands on the sides and hips

* We are unaware that the dentition of the present animal has previously been described; nor is it now absolutely certain that the right species is referred to. We were perfectly familiar with the dental characters of *H. crocuta* and *H. vulgaris*, however, when, in Mr. Yarrell's collection, a solitary Hyæna's skull excited our attention, as differing from all that we had ever previously examined; and as the smaller size of this specimen accords with *H. brunnea*, while there is no information of any additional recent species, there can be extremely little doubt of its belonging to it. Mr. Yarrell was quite unacquainted with the history of his specimen.

were little, if at all, more distinct, and the dirty-white collar was equally conspicuous.”*

This animal is the *Straand-Wolf* or *Straand-Jut* of the Cape colonists, and is neither so common nor so generally diffused as the Spotted Hyænas; but appears to extend further northward,† the specimen in the Zoological Society’s Museum having been received from near the Gambia. “It is well known,” writes Mr. Steedman, “to the farmers who reside along the southern shores near the Cape, where it feeds upon carrion, and whatever is occasionally thrown up by the ocean, as dead Whales, &c. But when food becomes scarce it commits great depredations upon the flocks and herds of the colonists, by whom its incursions are much dreaded. A very fine specimen” (described in the foregoing paragraph) “that had been just shot by a farmer, had destroyed three large calves belonging to him. I was informed that it is a remarkably cunning animal, retiring to a considerable distance from the scene of its depredations to elude pursuit, and concealing itself, during the day-time, in the mountains, or in the thick bush, which extends in large patches throughout the sandy district in which it is usually found. The cub I procured was one of three obtained alive in the Nieuveld mountains, a considerable distance in the interior of the country, which shews that this species is not so strictly confined to the vicinity of the sea-coast as its colonial name would apply, or as the accounts of travellers would lead us to imagine.”

An instructive account of the Brown Hyæna, by Dr. Andrew Smith, the enterprising African traveller, to whom zoology has recently been so much indebted, is published in the 15th volume of the *Transactions of the Linnæan Society*, where it is stated that “it seldom attacks the larger quadrupeds, and it is only Sheep, Goats, and such like animals, that suffer from its predatory nature.” A captive individual which that naturalist long possessed, was always unusually active during rain, and habitually avoided warmth: its disposition was exceedingly cunning and distrustful, and it shewed an anxiety to carry off things of all description to its place of retreat, which were not without difficulty regained; it thus concealed its food, and is stated to have seized on bones in preference to flesh. Both this

* Steedman’s *Wanderings in South Africa*, ii., 114.

† Since penning the above, we have found a notice, in the *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*, (tom. v., p. 227, new series), of the Spotted Hyæna being met with in Senegal. Cuvier remarks, in his *Ossements Fossiles*, that a figure of it occurs in an ancient manuscript of Oppian.

and the *H. crocuta*, narrates Dr. Smith, unequivocally, are in the habit of carrying bones to their wild retreats, and of employing themselves in crushing them during the day. The captive individual adverted to killed and devoured a young Dog, its companion.

THE STRIPED HYÆNA

(*H. vulgaris*, Desm. ; *H. antiquorum*, Temm. ; *H. striata*, Zimm. ;
Canis hyæna, of Linnæus).

Is the only existing member of the sub-family met with out of Africa, being found from India to Abyssinia and Senegal, inclusive. Bruce thought, however, that he could distinguish the Hyæna of Syria from that of Barbary, by a more Dog-like muzzle. It is readily known by the distinct black stripes crossing the body and limbs, and conspicuous thick mane continued along the whole spine ; a great black space on the fore-neck, that recalls to mind the Civets:

Size, that of a large Dog, but shorter-bodied, or about four feet four inches from snout to base of tail ; the tail eleven inches more, or with its hair one foot five ; height at the shoulders two feet four, and at the croup about three inches less.* Colour uniform pale brownish-grey, or somewhat darker above than beneath, with irregular black transverse stripes on the body and limbs, disposed obliquely on the shoulders and haunches. Front of the neck, outside of the ears, and muzzle black ; and a thick bushy mane, composed of hairs from six to nine inches long (increasing in length backward), and hanging over on each side, along the whole nape and spine till lost in the tail-brush, and which is erected when the animal is threatening. The mane and tail both marked with blackish

* Bruce mentions one that measured five feet nine inches from muzzle to tail ; but none have been seen in Europe approaching those dimensions. He must have meant the total length to the end of the tail-tuft, which just agrees with the admeasurements above given, taken from a fine and well-stuffed specimen, exceedingly well mounted, in the museum of the Zoological Society. The dimensions above given by Bruce are copied from Cuvier's *Ossemens Fossiles* ; but we find, on reference to the Appendix to Bruce's Travels, which we had no opportunity of referring to when the above was written, that that author specifies his admeasurement from nose to tail, insisting much on the great size of a particular breed of Striped Hyænas, of which the specimen adverted to was an example, and which breed may yet prove to be specifically different.

spots and stripes, variously and irregularly placed. The body-markings differ considerably in intensity in different individuals, and we have seen one wherein the stripes were so much broken and scattered as scarcely to deserve the name.

This widely-diffused species about Mount Libanus, Syria, the north of Asia, and in the vicinity of Algiers, is known, according to Bruce, to feed mostly upon large succulent bulbs, as those of the *Fritillariæ*; and that author informs us that he has known large spaces of fields turned up by it to get at onions and other roots, which are chosen with such care, that, after peeling them, all such are rejected as are tinged with rottenness, as before noticed. Shaw, the traveller, likewise asserts, that, in default of other food, it will eat the roots of plants, and will feed on the tender shoots of palms. He speaks of it as an unsociable animal, solitary, and inhabiting the chasms of the rocks. In Abyssinia, and other hot climates, however, the Striped Hyæna becomes much more carnivorous, and a perfect pest from its abundance, which is induced, in some degree, by the unclean habits of the inhabitants, who leave the Hyænas to perform the office of scavengers in removing a vast quantity of decaying animal matter. So far they are indeed useful, but their multiplication is thus obviously encouraged to a noxious extent; for they resort to the towns and villages in multitudes at dusk, destroy every domestic animal to which they can gain access, and if they do not habitually attack man, from whom they are rather disposed to flee, still it is not exactly pleasant to hear them grunting all around, to encounter them at every turn, or to be awoke, as the traveller Bruce was on one occasion, by something moving under his bed, to be greeted by the night-sparkling glare of the eyes of one of these animals, trying to make off with his bunch of candles! We have never heard of either this or the Spotted Hyæna injuring a grown human being under such circumstances, but infants are particularly subject to be carried off by them. The statement that the Striped Hyæna inhabits South Africa rests on the solitary testimony of Levaillant, who appears to have met with it in the country of the Great Namaquas, towards the tropic of Capricorn.* It certainly does not occur towards the Cape.

We have next to describe a very singular little animal, the denti-

* See the narrative of his second expedition, vol. iii., 68, English translation. He distinguishes all three species.

tion of which is sufficiently curious as compared with all the rest of the *Carnivoræ*, but particularly so in reference to the *Hyæna* genus, to which, in other respects, it is proximately allied.

THE PROTLE (*Proteles*,* Is. Geof.),

The incisors and canines of which present no deviation from the ordinary form, and are duly developed, though the exterior incisors are not large; but the complement of molars is deficient, and such as are present appear as though their development had been prematurely arrested at an early stage.

There are, in all, four cheek-teeth on each side above, of very small size, and separated from each other, especially the hindmost, which presents a tuberculous surface, having two tubercles; the three others being pointed false molars, and simply conical. In the lower jaw there are two analogous false molars, which lock on either side of the middle one above, the second having a slight trace of a posterior process; and situate much further backward, but anteriorly to the upper true molar, is a third below, having two little points, and also a small tubercle. The scissor-teeth are altogether wanting; and of what use the other diminutive molars can be to the animal is assuredly not obvious; Dr. Smith, indeed, asserts that they often fall out at an early age.† The incisors belonging to the only skull we have seen were singularly worn down, as if much more employed by this than any other of the *Carnivora*.

In other respects, the Protle is almost a miniature striped *Hyæna*, but with more slender limbs, a developed fifth toe on the fore-feet, a smooth tongue, smaller head, and finer brushy tail; and not only without the two additional pairs of ribs, but having one pair less than the *Lycaons* and *Dogs*: the anal pouch, with its transverse aperture, is precisely similar. Only one species is known,

THE CRESTED PROTLE,

(*Pr. cristatus*, Auct.; *Pr. Lalandii*, Is. Geof.; *Viverra Hyænoides*, Cuv., originally),

Or *Aard-Wolf* ("earth-wolf") and *Nadrou Jackal*, of the Cape colonists. It is less than a common Fox, of a greyish colour, with

* *Προτελης*, undeveloped; in reference to the structure of the molars.

† *African Zoology*, p. 48.

fewer transverse streaks than the Striped Hyæna, a long, thick mane, particularly upon the shoulders (where the hairs measure six inches in length), and fine brushy tail, as before remarked. We will copy Dr. Andrew Smith's more particular description of it.

"Length, from nose to base of tail, three feet; of tail, thirteen inches: height at the shoulder seventeen inches, at croup about fifteen. Muzzle black, thinly covered with some fine reddish fur; hair between the eyes nearly black; the upper and lateral parts of the head pencilled black and reddish-white, each hair being annulated with these colours; under surface of the lower jaw black; ears with a thin covering of blackish hairs externally, their inner surface bare, excepting the margins, which are covered with a whitish hair. Woolly hair of the neck and body very abundant; and yellowish-white, clouded with subrufous towards the surface, blackish towards the body: bristly hairs abundant on the upper part of the neck and centre of the back, where they form the mane, and are annulated black and white; on the sides they are scanty, yellowish-white, and much longer than the woolly hair. On each side of the neck, a little below the mane, a longitudinal blackish stripe; on the body and shoulders a number of vertical stripes; and on the extremities towards the body several transverse bands of the same colour, on a ground-tint similar to that of the body. Lower parts of the extremities deep black in front, and on the sides; rufous-white behind: throat, breast, and belly, yellowish-white: tail, towards its root, variegated yellowish-white and black; the last two-thirds appearing nearly black, the hairs being only yellowish-white towards their bases. In the female, the woolly hair has scarcely any of the subrufous tints which are abundant in old males, and the mane is not so dark: indeed, all the colours may be stated to be of a lighter hue."* The young, when very small, resemble the adults.

This animal has hitherto been met with principally in South Africa, where, according to Dr. Smith, it is not very abundant; but it appears that a specimen has likewise been killed in Upper Egypt,† though whether of the exact same species remains to be ascertained. Should it prove so, which is not generally the case with the quadrupeds of North and South Africa, the probable inference would be, that its principal habitat is within the tropics.

It is a very timid animal, and social with its own kind. "Under-

* *African Zoology*, p. 48.

† M. Is. Geof. St. Hilaire, *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*, tom. iv., 252, new series.

standing it to be rather numerous," writes Mr. Steedman, "in the neighbourhood of the Vanstaden River" (near Algoa Bay), "and being desirous of obtaining a specimen, I accompanied a farmer in search of the burrows. We soon discovered the *spoor* or track of these animals quite fresh; and following it for some distance over sandy hillocks thickly covered with bushes, we at length found their retreat, which, to all appearance, they had recently quitted. It was a subterraneous cave, with several holes, each leading to one principal cell. It seemed that these holes were intended to facilitate escape in case of attack, the animal being extremely timid. In proof of this, I may mention the circumstance of the farmer who accompanied me having, upon one occasion, ventured to take away the young, without any apprehension of being interrupted by the old ones, which had fled at his approach. After a day spent in fruitless search, we were unable to get even a sight of this curious animal. The farmer informed me that, on moonlight nights, he had frequently seen as many as ten or fifteen of them together, prowling among the hills in pursuit of prey, and raising a most frightful howl."* Levallant mentions occasionally distinguishing the howl of some quadruped, besides that of the *Hyæna* and that of the Cape Jackal, about his encampments at night, which his Hottentots informed him was the *Aard-Wolf*: whatever it might be, he adds, it fed along with the Jackals and *Hyænas*.†

The *Protle* is stated to prey on very young Lambs, and to attack the massive fatty protuberance on the tails of the African Sheep.‡ No doubt it also feeds on very putrid carrion, so far decomposed as to require no further division than can be effected by tugging at it with the canines; a supposition which, indeed, is favoured by the circumstance of the lower canines being a little curved. Its dental system must, of course, incapacitate it for severing flesh, except that of exceedingly tender young animals.

Having now disposed of all the known existing species of *Hyæninæ*, and described them somewhat in detail, we trust that we have also disposed of the statement that the teeth constitute the essential character of *Mammalia*, upon which the group might even be exclusively constructed; inasmuch as it appears that the dental system is subject to adaptive modifications which might occur alike

* *Wanderings in South Africa*, vol. i., p. 308.

† Narrative of second expedition, English translation, ii., 323.

‡ Is. Geof. St. Hilaire.

in genera not especially allied together. Thus, the Hyænas and Cats present a somewhat *analogous* dentition, in consequence of the abbreviation of the muzzle, coincident with a development of the scissor-teeth, displacing the tuberculous molars, so that one only is retained above and none below, and that single one is much reduced in size, presenting a narrow transverse form at most. The Hyænas and Cats have, accordingly, been erroneously approximated, as they possess little else in common that does not apply to the *Digitigrada* generally. The Hyænas, moreover, pertaining to a natural family—the *Viverridæ*—the members of which are only partly carnivorous, retain a vegetable-feeding propensity, notwithstanding the loss of the tuberculous portion of their grinders; which renders it necessary to modify another general proposition, to the effect that the teeth determine the regimen: the truth being, that the ordained regimen determined the modification of the teeth in the first instance, though, to whatever extent that modification may be carried, in species framed on any particular sub-type, a hankering after the normal regimen of that sub-typical group generally will still be manifested; of which the Hyænas afford, perhaps, as remarkable an example as could be adduced.*

* The foregoing descriptions of the *Hyænina* are somewhat abridged from a manuscript general work on the Mammalia, by the author of the *Sketches*, which is now in a very forward state, and will be published in a single thick octavo volume, as soon as he has sufficiently studied the contents of the principal continental museums. A similar work on Birds is likewise in progress, which will probably extend to two volumes.

[Page 52, last line, for *Eupleres*, Jourdan, read *Eupleres*, Doyère; and append, as a note, the following: Since writing the above, we have seen the figure and description of this animal published in the *Annales des Sciences Naturelles* (new series, vol. iv, p. 270), and are satisfied that it is a true member of the *Insectivora*, Cuv. allied to *Tupaia* and *Gymnura*. In approximating it to *Cryptoprocta*, we were misled by Prof. de Blainville's arrangement of the *Carnivora*, in vol. viii. of the same work, p. 279.]

THE MONK; A STORY OF THE ALPS.

THE pass of the great St. Bernard has been more than once recorded in the page of history, as the scene where persevering enterprise, combined with daring ambition, and supported by bold execution, was enabled to conquer apparently insurmountable obstacles, and to render vain even the barriers opposed by nature to the completion of man's designs ; and the celebrated Hospice, situated near the summit of the mountain, has for ages been a perpetuating monument of the power of generous sympathy and warm benevolence to defy the chills of perennial snows, and the desolation of dreary solitude.

Though this pass is devoid of many of the magnificent features that characterize some other of the Alpine tracts, yet its wild and rugged paths cannot be traversed without feelings of deep interest ; the memory will revert to the period when Hannibal* led his Carthaginian warriors over the stupendous Alps, as some maintain, by this pass, and poured down his legions with resistless fury on the richly cultivated plains of Lombardy, then teeming with wealth and luxury that, ere long, was to enervate even the hardy veterans of Africa, and compel them to yield to the magic spell of the soft skies, the cooling fountains, and the love-breathing groves of Italy's genial clime. Since that period small bodies of troops have occasionally crossed the St. Bernard ; but the transit of forty thousand

* The ascent of the Alps by Hannibal and his army is described as having occupied nine days. In addition to the obstacles presented to their advance by the rugged nature of the ground, the hardy mountaineers disputed every pass with them, and frequently broke their disciplined ranks, or obliged them to retreat ; but at length, by stratagem and perseverance, the Carthaginian general succeeded in gaining the summit of the mountain, where he permitted the soldiers to rest two days, after which they commenced the descent, which was found extremely difficult, owing to the steepness of the declivity. At one point a precipice of one thousand feet in depth seemed to bar their farther progress; and here it was that the well-known artifice of heating the rocks by fire and dissolving them with vinegar, was resorted to. From whence the vinegar was obtained, and by what solvent property it was enabled to reduce primitive granite, the historian omits to mention ; possibly the effervescing wine, for which the valley of Aosta is famous, may be here signified. This, if given to the soldiers, might, by its refreshing properties, have stimulated their exertion, and enabled them to overcome the opposing barriers.

regularly disciplined soldiers, with cavalry, baggage, and two hundred pieces of artillery over this pass, was reserved for the giant genius and master spirit of Napoleon to accomplish.

It is impossible for any one to form even a faint idea of the magnitude of this undertaking, without visiting its scene. The broken nature of the ground, the narrowness of the path, the abrupt precipices, and the deep beds of torrents to be passed over, with the snow, which, at that early season of the year (in April) was many feet thick for a considerable part of the route, would all seem to render the undertaking impracticable ; but an end was to be gained, and this end (if in human power) Napoleon determined should be effected. His design succeeded ; he accomplished the pass, and the field of Marengo bears bloody evidence how completely the manœuvre succeeded.

During the early ages of Christianity great numbers of devotees, performing pilgrimages, used to pass into Italy by this road ; and it was principally to aid and relieve these absolution-seeking sinners that the Hospice established by Bernard, about the tenth century, was founded. The monks of this monastery are of the order of St. Augustine ; their self-devotion, in thus voluntarily residing, throughout the perpetual winters of this sterile wilderness, for the purpose of rendering assistance to weary travellers of whatever description or country, their active zeal, their benevolent charity, and, above all, their indefatigable exertions in rescuing from destruction the unfortunate wayfarer who may have been overwhelmed by the snow-storm, cannot fail to call for universal gratitude and admiration. Formerly the monks were possessed of considerable property, and their funds were amply sufficient to entertain gratuitously all the travellers who took shelter under their hospitable roof ; but the spoliation consequent upon revolutionary changes in the states and empires where their lands lay, has materially depreciated their revenues ; and at the present time they gladly receive any contributions which generosity or philanthropy may dictate to the visitor.

During a short stay in Switzerland, in the year 18—, I had occasion to visit the Hospice of St. Bernard, and to become personally acquainted with some of its inmates.

It was on a bright morning in the early part of the month of November—(a month sometimes unjustly libelled ; for, notwithstanding its general gloom, it is not always productive of clouds and despondence alone ; there are occasionally cheering gleams, bright oases, and sunny hours, when nature seems to throw off the veil of mist that has been spread over her beautiful face, and to smile even

on the "seared and yellow leaves" which lie scattered on her bosom, whilst the birds sing blithely as in the first break of early spring)—I set out for the small town of Martigny, with the intention of resting one night at the Hospice, and proceeding the next day on my journey into Italy. I took with me two stout peasants to act as guides; we were all mounted on mules, that being the most convenient mode of ascending the pass. The extraordinary sagacity and more than human foresight of these animals, when in the perils of the mountain tracts, render their services of the highest value to the traveller. It was advisable to take every precaution; for though the weather was now clear and open, this could not be relied on beyond the present hour, particularly at such an advanced season of the year. Should a storm overtake the traveller whilst on his way, unless he has some person thoroughly acquainted with the mountain paths to direct him, there is every danger of losing the track and perishing in the storm.

The road, for some time, passes along the banks of the river Drance, which rushes impetuously down a narrow rocky channel, sometimes dashing over perpendicular ledges many feet in height, or foaming amongst the broken fragments of stone which everywhere strew its bed. We halted for three hours at the village of Liddes, in order to recruit the mules for the remaining part of the ascent, which, from this place, becomes steeper and more broken. We here learned that a considerable quantity of snow had fallen during the previous days, and that there was much difficulty and some danger in proceeding; but as I was determined, if possible, to reach the Hospice that evening, and it was now but mid-day, I procured another guide to accompany us on foot, and assist in case of any accident; after replenishing our brandy-flasks, we set out with stout hearts and warm cloaks on our perilous journey. The road lies up a deep valley bounded on either side by bold rocks and snow-covered peaks, from which the sunbeams were reflected with almost painful vividness. After leaving the hamlet of St. Pierre, all vestiges of habitation cease; the paths wind for a short distance through a forest of pine and larch, which, however, soon ceases, and the alpine rose, a species of *Rhododendron*, alone blooms in the solitude; the stream assumes the character of a brawling torrent; the path becomes narrow and rugged; and the whole scene presents as wild and desolate an appearance as it is possible to imagine. After about two leagues we passed a small chalet, where, in the summer, milk and other refreshments may be procured. We now began to find the journey extremely troublesome, and made but slow pro-

gress ; the snow was so soft, owing to its recent fall, that the mules sank in above their knees at every step. We were, therefore, obliged to dismount, and proceed on foot with the assistance of long staves, with which we had provided ourselves. In the mean time, the sun was obscured by dense clouds, the sky became overcast, and a low moaning noise, like the sound of the distant ocean, occasionally broke on the otherwise death-like stillness. There was a chilling gloom cast around every object, respiration became difficult and oppressive, from the attenuated state of the atmosphere. The walking was toilsome and difficult in the extreme, frequently as much ground being lost by one unfortunate slip, as had required several steps to gain.

We had advanced in this manner for some time in silence, when I felt a smarting, prickling sensation on my face, and I turned to one of the guides to inquire its meaning. He pointed to the mules, and I observed that the vacant saddles were covered with small white particles. "It is the snow," he said, "and the storm is gathering fearfully fast about us. Do you see yon peak?" I strained my eyes in the direction where he pointed, and saw, at a considerable distance, a craggy point, which was scarcely discernible through the increasing darkness. "So long as we can descry that point we are safe," he continued, "but we must lose no time." "How far are we from the convent?" I asked. "A *strong* league yet," he replied ; "but I have traversed the way often, and know it well, every spot is familiar to me by day and night." He said this in a seemingly careless manner, but there was a degree of anxiety about his tone and gesture which did not escape my notice.

The speaker was a tall, athletic man, about forty years of age. From the strength and symmetry of his figure he seemed formed to endure hardship and to achieve enterprise ; his countenance was open and intelligent, and his broad forehead and dauntless eye at once bespoke courage and daring, combined with prudence and foresight. I had had much conversation with him during the day, and had learned some of his history. He was a native of Thun, and had, in common with all the Swiss peasantry, that devoted attachment to country and home which has become proverbial. During his early life he had passed through most of the European states, in the capacity of courier to different travellers, and possessed a good deal of information, with a superiority of air and language to the generality of his class. I felt the utmost confidence and reliance in this man's knowledge and guidance, for faithfulness to trust has ever been the characteristic of the Swiss nation. The sequel proved

that I had not formed a wrong estimate of his character. The other person we brought from Martigny proved to be quite a youth, and but little acquainted with the pass. He began to show signs of fatigue and exhaustion soon after we reached the snow, and was now incapable of proceeding without assistance. His frequent request was to sit down and rest, but this would have been at once leaving him to his fate ; for when the feeling of drowsiness is yielded to in order to get a little temporary ease, the unfortunate victim presently falls into a deep sleep, from which he never more awakes. We therefore urged him to proceed, I supporting him on one side, and the man who had accompanied us from St. Pierre occasionally aiding both, while Stierry, our experienced guide, kept a few paces in advance. To the exertion required in sustaining my burden, and the excitement consequent upon it, I was probably indebted for my life. That benumbing sensation of the extremities which is generally the forerunner of complete paralysis, had begun to overpower me ; and it was only by a very strong effort that I could throw it off to take an active part in our present situation, which every moment became more hazardous. The light had nearly faded, and an impenetrable veil was fast shrouding the heavens, the breeze came in fitful gusts, and the icy spicules increased in quantity. I looked towards the beacon of our hope ; it was still visible through the dimness, but heavy clouds rested over it, and seemed about to wrap it within their dark folds. Our progress was necessarily slow, having to drag our companion along at every step. To have left him in his hopeless condition, was not in English or Swiss hearts. It was still half a league to the Hospice, and the night was upon us. Not a word was spoken, but we persevered. The path for some time had been between two lofty ridges of rock, which, in some degree, screened it from the storm ; but we now entered on an open exposed tract of the mountain, where there was nothing to interrupt the violence of the tempest, which now burst upon us with appalling fury. The wind, as if hitherto disappointed of its prey, swept with resistless impetuosity across the barren waste, whirling the snow round and round, and dashing it against us with such force as to produce considerable pain. It was impossible to distinguish any object, even at the shortest distance, the immense quantity of falling particles totally obscuring vision ; the breath, too, was now drawn with increased difficulty, and to advance was like facing a cataract. The mules uttered a plaintive cry, and shrank cowering before the blast. We sheltered ourselves in the best way we could behind them, and waited until the extreme violence of the storm should be past ; in a

few minutes the power of the hurricane seemed partly exhausted, but the snow fell fast as ever.

Stierry was by my side : " We must move from this place at all risks," he said, " or our bed will be a cold one, and our sleep long." " Which way lies the road ?" I inquired. " I must endeavour," he replied, " to discover it ; it is marked by wood posts, put down at intervals ; and if I can find one of these we may perhaps reach better quarters." He spoke with a calm decision and presence of mind, that were well calculated to inspire hope and confidence. " Hold fast the end of this cord," he continued, " when I call to you to follow it, join me." Then, attaching the other end to his own arm, he went to such a distance as the length of the line (which was considerable) would allow, and described a circuit. By these means the cord was brought in contact with the desired object. We soon heard the signal, and with the assistance of our clue we readily gained the spot where he stood, which was marked by one of the guide-posts before mentioned. He now advanced, as before, to the next post, and we followed, when the word was given, in like manner. We pressed on for some time, alternately halting and proceeding on our way, as our intrepid conductor ascertained the safety of the ground ; and we had begun to entertain great hopes of extricating ourselves ; but these hopes were soon doomed to be crushed. After waiting a much longer time than usual without receiving the signal, I became alarmed. Stierry returned, and said he had sought in vain for the next mark to direct our path, and " to proceed," he continued, " without knowing it, were but to court our fate." " Would it not be practicable," I asked, " to return and take shelter in the chalet we passed ?" " No," he replied, " I might be enabled to retrace my steps, but for *you* it would be impossible." " Then go," I exclaimed, " why sacrifice more lives than are required ?" " Because," he replied, " I would rather die than desert my trust. It shall never be said that Henry Stierry forsook, in the hour of peril and adversity, those he was bound to assist, and would have followed through sunshine and prosperity. If I cannot change your lot, I can at least share it. Nothing now remains but for us to draw close together, and endeavour to keep out this intense cold." I could not but admire, and be deeply affected with, his attachment and fidelity, and saw it was vain to urge him farther.

Whilst he spoke, I felt the blood which had been warmed by the exertion and interest of our perilous circumstances, flow back with icy chillness to the heart ; and a full consciousness of our utterly hopeless condition, for the first time, came upon me. We obeyed

the last injunction of our guide, and all crept close to each other, when, after addressing a joint and fervent supplication to Heaven, we awaited in silence our doom, which now seemed inevitable. I soon began to experience a return of those sensations of numbness which had been for a time overcome, together with an indescribable giddiness and exhaustion, which promised speedily to render me incapable of receiving external impressions. I had been in this state for some time, and was fast sinking into insensibility, when a strange sound struck upon my ear. At first it was blended with all the confused feelings of a bewildered fancy, but it came again and again, distinct and certain. I raised myself, and laid my hand on Stierry's arm, but he did not move. I called to him; he started, and inquired what I needed. "Listen," I replied. "What sound is that? I have heard it more than once: now, now it comes again; it is like the distant bark of a dog." He laid his ear down to the snow for an instant, then, springing to his feet, he exclaimed, "It is! it is! we may yet be saved! That sound is the signal of relief; some of the brave souls from the monastery are out to-night on their errand of mercy. God grant they may turn this way!" We could now plainly distinguish the deep baying of a dog, and imagined we could occasionally discover human voices swelling on the breeze: then again all was still, perfectly still: hope died within us, and the heart became sick. It might be nothing but the wind wailing through the rugged ravines, or the mountain spirits revelling with demoniac glee in the desolation of the storm. Again the sounds were borne upon the gale; they approached, and again died away: to have aid so near, and yet with the possibility that it might never reach us, rivalled even the tortures of Tantalus. Could we but make our situation known, deliverance was at hand. We shouted with all the vehemence of mingled hope and despair, but our voices went faintly over the expanded waste. That instinctive and mysterious love of life which is implanted in every breast, and which is only extinguished by the utter annihilation of being, now rekindled the almost expiring spark of vitality in our companions. They joined their voices to ours, and we continued our efforts. In a short time, we had the inexpressible delight of knowing that our deliverers were advancing rapidly to the rescue; the gleam of torches was now discovered through the darkness, and soon after the noble mastiff,* who first apprized us of the coming succour, had

* In the museum at Berne there is preserved the skeleton of one of these sagacious animals, who for many years was well known on the Great St. Ber-

by his unerring sagacity discovered our resting-place. He exhibited every symptom of satisfaction, by leaping about us, and rubbing himself against different parts of our bodies, in order to impart a portion of warmth to the frozen limbs ; while, ever and anon, he uttered two or three short barks, to inform those who were approaching that he had found something which required their immediate attendance. Twelve or fourteen persons now appeared, some carrying flambeaux, others provided with long poles and ropes. The help came most opportunely, as by this time the whole of our party were incapable of moving. We were quickly conveyed to the Hospice, and soon safely deposited within its sheltering walls. Here, all the usual remedies were employed to restore circulation, and with complete success ; cordials were administered in due time ; and with the luxury of a good fire, warm clothing, and refreshing food, the perils we had gone through were almost forgotten, and we retired to rest, fervently thanking the wise Director of all events for our preservation, and the monks of St. Bernard as the instruments with which it had been accomplished.

During the next and several succeeding days, the weather was so tempestuous that it was not deemed advisable for me to continue my journey. I therefore gladly accepted the kind invitation of the fathers to rest under their roof until a favourable change in the elements should permit me to proceed in safety. In this time I had an opportunity of learning much of the domestic economy of their establishment, remarking minutely the habits and manners of its inmates. The individuals composing this community are a simple-hearted, unsophisticated set of men. Separated from the rest of the world, both by the nature of their vocation, and their peculiar locality, they are untainted by the prejudices, vices, and foibles of busy life. They neither make nor meddle in the affairs and events which disturb general society. They know but little of the ambition and intrigue by which states and empires are governed, or of the speculations and controversies which agitate scientific inquiry. There are, indeed, exceptions to this rule in men who (disappointed and disgusted at finding noxious weeds springing up at every step in what they had visionarily pictured the bright flower-garden of life) have, after gathering some of the bloom from the passing hours, and perhaps finding it mingled with the bitter poison of blighted hope, turned from the delusive mirage, and devoted the remainder

nard, and is said to have been the direct means of saving fifteen human beings from the death that awaited them.

of their days to the solitude of a cloister. Amongst this number, I judged Father Stephano to have been. He was a man about thirty-five years of age, although the lines of suffering and sorrow were so visibly impressed upon his countenance that he appeared much older. His customary bearing was reserved and melancholy ; but at times the momentary gleam which spread over his dark features, and the restless glances which flashed from his expressive eyes, told the workings of a proud and sanguine spirit not altogether subdued to endure the present, or steeled to the memory of the past. I had a strong desire to become better acquainted with this person, as he had been particularly active in our rescue, and seemed to possess a superior mind to his companions. At first, he withdrew from every advance to confidence : he even shunned the politeness of common intercourse ; but, in time, he yielded so far as to converse freely on indifferent subjects, and asked numerous questions relating to passing events and general opinions.

His remarks exhibited a depth of understanding, and an intimate acquaintance with the world, which could only have been acquired by mixing with society and studying carefully the motives and passions which actuate mankind. He possessed liberal principles and noble sentiments and a generous heart, but all his views were clouded and discoloured with a morbid sensibility, an over-wrought estimation of what things should be, which made him look upon present realities with a jaundiced eye. It seemed as if his early dream of happiness had fled, that the stream which fed his young aspirations, and in whose crystal bosom he had seen reflected the bright prospect of a golden future, was changed to a dark and turbid current, which had swept away all his fairy palaces and elysian groves, and had left him nothing to contemplate on the dreary ocean of existence, but the remembrance of false anticipations and withered hopes.

The weather continued so inclement that I was obliged to remain several weeks at the Hospice ; and, before my departure, I gained so far on the confidence of Father Stephano as to induce him to relate to me many interesting particulars regarding events which had taken place on the St. Bernard, since his sojourn amongst the brotherhood. One adventure of which he was an eye-witness, and which was attended with the most singular and romantic circumstances, I shall now endeavour to describe as near as possible in his own words. Having one day, after our principal meal, replenished the blazing hearth with some dry wood, and drawn our seats

within the influence of its reviving warmth, the monk commenced as follows :—

“Nearly four years have now elapsed,” he began, “since the circumstances I am about to relate took place ; yet the occurrences of yesterday are not more distinctly impressed on my memory than are the most minute incidents which then happened.

“The season had been unusually open, and many persons had crossed the mountain with ease, at a considerably later period than the present. It was at the close of an evening, when some travellers arrived at the Hospice, and sought shelter for the night. They had ascended from Martigny, and seemed much fatigued with the journey ; the party consisted of an English gentleman, his daughter, and their domestics. Every accommodation that our roof could afford was speedily furnished them, and they were soon able to partake of some refreshment in the saloon. During the repast, more visitors arrived who had come up from the side of Piedmont ; these comprised an Italian nobleman, with his lady and their retainers. On being brought into the saloon, the count glanced round the apartment ; and, perceiving the strangers, he turned haughtily away and enquired whether he could not have private accommodation ; but the countess drew towards the fire, (near which the previous guests were seated), and made some general remarks. She was about to place herself at the board, when she was arrested by the intense gaze of the younger English traveller, which was fixed full upon her. They were both silent, when a sudden exclamation—Pauline ! Mary ! now burst simultaneously from either of them, and the next moment they were folded in each other’s embrace. This extraordinary scene was quickly explained. When girls, they had been at the same school together at Geneva, and had there formed a romantic, but sincere friendship. Events hereafter to be mentioned had divided them for some years. They had never even communicated by letter, and knew not of the changes that each had experienced. It may be, therefore, imagined what inexpressible delight this unexpected meeting had afforded them. When the first emotions of surprise were past, the young countess presented her husband to her English friends. He made the acknowledgements of courtsey with cold civility, which could not pass unobserved ; it caused the indignant blood of wounded pride to mantle on the cheek of the countess, whilst it only called a smile of conscious superiority and good natured pity, to curl the lip of the Englishman, who returned the greeting of the Italian in a manner more polite, but not the less distant.

“The two female companions had much to converse about, many questions to ask, and many strange adventures to hear ; but, as they were both tired with the exertion of the day, and needed rest and sleep, the count consented, though reluctantly, to stay the next day at the monastery, in order to afford them the gratification of each other’s society. The following morning, clouds enveloped the mountain, the air was piercingly cold, the wind howled dismally, the spirit of the storm was let loose, and stalked from crag to crag with devastating strides. The winter had now commenced in its deepest intensity ; and, like the cold heartlessness of the world which freezes every stream of generous impulse and chills every bud of promised happiness, it quickly changed the face of all that was fair and bright, to one blank desert. But, unlike that winter of the soul, it shall again yield to genial spring, and flowers shall bloom and rills meander, where now the eye finds nothing but lifeless sterility to rest upon ; while for the blighted heart, and the seared affections there is no green spot ; no power to liberate the once frozen currents of youthful hopes and early visions. The monk paused, and seemed struggling with some painful emotion which, in a few seconds, by a strong effort he mastered. The weather remained so tempestuous and severe, he resumed, that those only who were well acquainted with the various paths and turnings of this wilderness, and had been long inured to its hardships dared venture abroad. The travellers were all detained in the Hospice, and it was many days before they were enabled to proceed on their journey.

“It will be necessary to refer to many circumstances that happened previously to the period of which I speak, to enable you to understand the subsequent events. Colonel Hamilton was an English gentleman of good family, but small fortune. At the commencement of his career, he followed the profession of arms from a pure love of glory, and a chivalrous spirit of enterprize. He was enthusiastic and impetuous, holding all danger at defiance, when only his own personal hazard was involved, but ever prudent and considerate where the lives or safety of others might be at stake. He rose to fame and distinction ; rank and honour waited upon him ; his name stood foremost in deeds of valorous exploits. The world was all bright before him ; but this was not to last. He was soon to receive a blow from an unseen hand that would dim all his fair prospects, and dash the cup of sweets from his lips—a blow, that would at once make shipwreck of all his fondly cherished anticipations, and leave him a prey to vain sorrows and unavailing regrets.

“ In the very zenith of success, his wife—she who had accompanied him through all his fortunes—the being who could alone temper the ebullitions of his too exuberant feelings, or pour the balm of consolation into his wounded spirit—the companion who had shared all his toils and griefs, who participated in all his hopes and fears—the creature on earth he loved more dearly than all that wealth and power, or fame could give, was snatched from him by the relentless hand of death. After this bereavement, he no longer took any part in public affairs, he disposed of his commission, left his native land, with all the scenes of his early youth, and settled in Switzerland, on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, where he resided for many years with his only child, the young and beautiful Mary. All his care was directed to her education. All his happiness was centred in her welfare. She was the last link that bound him to the world, the green leaf that distilled vitality into his withered heart. He loved to look upon her; he loved to trace the development of her character through each succeeding year; and he was richly repaid for all he had bestowed. Her gentle assiduity, her ceaseless solicitude for his comfort, her more than filial obedience, came soothingly to his broken spirit. Her high sentiments of virtue, and pure principles of religion, might have shamed many a sage, and taught even her father to forget his woes and to kiss the rod that chastened him. Time and his daughter’s love had in a great measure softened the poignancy of his grief; and, though happiness, as he had once known it, was dimmed for ever, yet he felt that there were many bright things in store for him. If a fleeting cloud occasionally crossed his brow, it was but as the passing ripple on the bosom of the lake when some slight breeze skims its surface, but is incapable of agitating the calmed depths of its serenity. His transitory gloom was always quickly dispelled by the silver-toned voice of Mary who, at these times would sing to him some of the plaintive airs of their native country, or swell the rich melody of the Swiss mountain lay. He would often gaze upon her sylph-like form and the perfect symmetry of her graceful figure; upon her beautiful and fascinating blue eyes, which told of nought but innocence and joy; and on her expressive countenance forming the faithful index of a spotless mind; and, as he gazed, his heart would overflow with intense affection. He would then clasp her to his breast, and call her his guardian spirit, his only joy, and pour upon her that choicest of all earthly gifts, a father’s holy benediction. Such was Mary, ere sorrow and suffering were more to her than mere words. She was yet

to taste the bitter draught of misery, she was yet to know the pangs of anguish. Even this guileless, gentle being, was not beyond the reach of the fell demon, who hovers over the destinies of man, ever ready to cast his envenomed dart, to strike where the least expected, and to leave the rankling poison in the wound, to blacken and destroy.

“The spot Colonel Hamilton had chosen for his residence was situated near the small and beautiful domain of M. de Rosenberg, a Swiss patriot, who had lost much of his property in the disturbances incident to the French Revolution; but he still possessed this patrimonial estate, on which he resided, if not in affluence, at least in contentment. Between him and the English colonel a close intimacy grew up. Neither of them were disposed to enter into general society, but they found in each other’s company a similarity of taste and habits, which rendered their intercourse mutually agreeable. M. de Rosenberg had a son a few years older than Mary; as children they were inseparable, both in their hours of play and their times of study. He was always her little protector, and she looked to him as her friend and brother. In the course of time, he went to one of the German universities to finish his education; on his return after several years, he found Mary changed from the pretty engaging child he had left, to a beautiful fascinating girl, just budding into womanhood. They were now, as before, constant companions. Often would they wander amid the mazes of copse and vineyard which adorn the banks of the lake. Often, on a soft summer’s evening, would they gaze across the expansive waters, and watch the small boats with their white sails gliding silently and tranquilly across its glassy bosom. At other times, they would climb the surrounding hills, rising as an amphitheatre; and, from some lofty terrace, gaze on the more magnificent features of nature, as displayed in the distant Alps, with their snow-clad peaks, and in the towering summit of Mont Blanc, soaring high above the rest in its lone majesty. All their pursuits, all their thoughts, bore the same impress and tended to the same end. They had but one object—but one heart. No wonder, then, that he loved, and that she returned his affection with as deep and as fervent a passion as ever glowed in the breast of woman. They knew no deceit. Nor did they attempt to conceal their attachment. Their love was approved. Their fathers beheld with delight the increasing fondness of their children, and looked on their union as the accomplishment of each one’s happiness. Time rolled on, and the period was fast

approaching when Arthur was to plight his vows to Mary in the face of Heaven, and before the eyes of men ; to give his pledge to love and cherish her as his own soul.

“ M. de Rosenberg possessed a small estate in one of the distant cantons, from which a considerable sum of money was due ; and, as Arthur had never been in that district, his father sent him to the town of —, near which the property was situated, to make the necessary inquiries. Before setting out on his journey, which would occupy him some days, the youth went to take leave of his beloved. They spoke much of their long and often-told love ; of their approaching marriage, and the years of joy that awaited them. When they parted, he pressed her fondly to his bosom, and imprinted one pure kiss on those lips whose breath was more precious to him than the scented breeze from spicy groves.

“ A week passed, and Arthur did not return. His friends became anxious ; day succeeded day, and yet no tidings arrived, and Mary began to feel that sickness of the heart which ever accompanies hope too long deferred. At length, a letter came ; but its contents poured no oil on the troubled waters. It came from the young de Rosenberg, stating that he was in the most imminent peril of his life, and entreating his father to lose not a moment in coming to his assistance. M. de Rosenberg immediately set out to the place from which his son's letter had been dated. Colonel Hamilton insisted on accompanying him ; and they made all speed. In about three days they arrived at the town of —, and found Arthur lying in the dungeon of a prison under a charge of murder. The circumstances that led to this untoward event were briefly these. An Italian priest had been found assassinated in one of the little-frequented mountain paths. The brother of this priest stated that, on the day when the murder was perpetrated, he had been pursuing his customary sport of shooting the goat and chamois, and was returning home by one of those perilous tracks which are only known to the adventurous hunter, when, at one of the most dreary and sequestered spots, he discovered the prisoner endeavouring to drag the body of a man from the way-side, for the purpose of casting it over some precipice. He approached cautiously, and succeeded in seizing the criminal before he had time to make resistance. Occurrences were all strongly against the young Arthur. He had been seen to leave the town of — in company with the murdered priest, but a few hours before the deed was committed. A pistol was found in his possession, that had been recently discharged, and

marks of blood appeared on various parts of his clothes. His accuser called loudly for justice to be done to the slayer of his brother, and every one was ready to condemn.

"The meeting of a parent and child under such painful circumstances, may be better imagined than described. M. de Rosenberg clasped Arthur in one long, fond embrace. He knew—he felt that his son could not be guilty; but how was his innocence to be proved? In vain did the agonized parent try to suggest various ways of repelling the accusation. All his plans were abandoned as soon as they were formed; each one was found delusive and impracticable. They were like the bubbles of hope rising through the troubled waters of affliction, and instantly broken as they became exposed to the atmosphere of truth. The simple facts of the case, as they have been related, he saw must condemn him: He beheld the prop of his declining years, the child to whom his heart yearned with the fondest affection, the being who was united to him in body and soul by the mystic tie of consanguinity—he saw this beloved one doomed to death and ignominy. He felt that his own name would be blasted, his reputation stigmatized, his house dishonoured, his happiness for ever gone. He was regardless of the soothing consolations that sympathy and friendship can give; and even, for a time, religion was incapable of imparting comfort to him. He would gaze upon the unfortunate Arthur till the big tears rolled in rapid succession down his furrowed cheeks, and with one convulsive sob he would cast himself on his son's neck, and call passionately upon Heaven to witness for his purity.

"It is not in human nature at once to confess that whatever is, is right. When sorrow and misfortune lower, the mind will at first rebel. The wise sage and the enlightened philosopher, the pure moralist and the genuine enthusiastic believer in divine interposition, have all occasionally repined, and questioned the justice of the decree that fated them to pain and misery. And so it must ever be with the finite intellect of man. The effects produced by the mighty power that orders and directs the universe may be seen; but the first causes which created those effects, and the ultimate ends to be attained by them, are beyond the comprehension of mortality. We find a small seed placed in the earth puts forth a young shoot, which quickly matures into a magnificent tree; but we know not how the vital principle is contained in the seed, or by what power the tree is enabled to perfect its renewing fruits. But to return to my story. During the few days that elapsed previously to the

trial, Colonel Hamilton used every means to procure all the information that might tend to favour his young friend's cause, and invalidate the testimony of his principal accuser. Both the priest and his brother were strangers in the town of —, no one knew from whence they came, or had even seen them before.

“At length the dreaded morning arrived, and the justice-hall was crowded with persons anxious to witness the trial. Arthur walked through the chamber with a firm step, and took his place at the bar with a calm and almost proud look. His youth and the natural ingenuousness of his countenance and manner, together with the deep anguish marked on the brow of his father as he stood near to him, and listened with painful intensity to each word that passed, would have excited compassion in every breast, and produced a feeling of pity and commiseration in every heart. But the crime of murder, with which the prisoner was charged, was almost unprecedented in that peaceful valley, and its author was viewed with the utmost abhorrence and detestation ; so that every kindlier feeling and sentiment were forgotten. All the particulars of the case were now examined, and every circumstance tended to corroborate the charge of murder, with which he stood accused. When called upon for his defence, he made the following statement. It was true, he said, that he had left the town of — on the day in question in company with the priest, and had journeyed with him for some distance ; when at length they reached a wild and lonely spot in the road, his companion suddenly turned upon him, and, grasping his arm, presented a pistol to his head and demanded his money : at first he thought of resisting, but this he soon found to be impossible ; he therefore tried to remonstrate, and said he had no money with him ; the priest pointed to a valuable ring which Arthur wore on his finger ; this he took off and gave up, in hopes it might satisfy ; but the other swore, with a savage imprecation, that he would have something more, and was about to commence rifling his person, when, watching an opportunity, Arthur shook off the robber's hold, and closed with him. The struggle was brief ; for the pistol, by some mischance, went off, and the contents lodged in the side of the ruffian, who instantly fell. As soon as Arthur had in some degree recovered the first surprise, he began to examine the state of his antagonist. Life was not totally extinct, but he had no means at hand of reviving the vital spark, or even of staunching the blood ; he therefore carried the insensible man a short distance from the path, in order to place him under the shelter of a rock, intending as speedily as possible to procure some further assistance. Whilst oc-

cupied thus, he was seen and seized in the manner before mentioned. After stating these particulars, he concluded by making the most solemn asseverations of his innocence, and appealing to the humane pity and justice of his judges to acquit him. He spoke with all the force and energy of truth, and his words produced a conviction that he was not guilty in the minds of most of those present who had come there predisposed against him. His judges were much embarrassed. They conferred together for some time, and again interrogated his accuser. In reply to their questions, he stated that, after delivering the prisoner up to the authorities, he returned, accompanied by two or three of the police, to a cottage on the mountain, where the wounded man had been carried by some of the peasants. They found him quite dead; every part of his dress was carefully searched, and no ring could be found. The story, however ingeniously devised and plausibly put forth, he believed to be a contemptible fabrication. Not one single proof could be adduced of any thing that was advanced, it must all be taken on the bare word of the criminal, who, of course, did not hesitate to forge a lie for the purpose of extricating himself from the penalty of a murder. The accuser, therefore, called vehemently on the court to condemn the culprit. Though Arthur's defence had produced a considerable sensation in his favour, yet, from its entirely circumstantial nature, it could not at all alter the law, which preferred the evidence of the accuser to the assertion of the accused. He was consequently found guilty, and his life declared forfeited.

"When the sentence was pronounced, M. de Rosenberg uttered a cry of anguish that pierced every heart; and before any one could come to his aid he fell insensible on the floor of the hall. Arthur had heard his doom with calmness, but when he saw his father he could refrain no longer. Casting himself on his knees by the side of the wretched old man, he pressed his lips on his cold, clammy brow; he clasped the now unconscious hand with the deepest fervour; and gazing upon him with a look of passionate tenderness, which soon changed to one of unutterable woe, he wept long and bitterly. No one attempted to part them. Their grief was too sacred to be broken in upon, even by a word. All sincerely sympathized in the scene. At length, M. de Rosenberg began to recover, and was carried out, while his son was re-conducted to his lonely cell.

"The most powerful interest was used in Arthur's behalf; and this, united to his youth and the respectability of his connexions, together with a degree of uncertainty that existed in the peculiar

nature of the case, all combined to procure a commutation of the sentence of death into a decree of perpetual banishment.

"His father and Colonel Hamilton saw him depart from the town of — an outcast and wanderer, whilst they returned to their once peaceful homes miserable and heart-broken. One more painful task was still to be performed—it was to tell Mary of her lover's fate. Her father broke the fatal intelligence in the gentlest manner possible. She heard him patiently and in silence. Her mind had foreboded evil, and it now came before her in fearful reality. When he had concluded she shed no tears, nor exhibited any violent emotion; but her eyes were fixed on vacancy with a wild, agonized intensity. The spring of her life-blood seemed in an instant frozen at her heart, as her fond father pressed her to his aching breast. She was helpless; almost lifeless. The blow had crushed her to the earth. The iron had entered into her soul. All her dearest and most cherished anticipations were blasted. The bud of promising happiness was blighted and withered, at the moment it seemed ready to burst into full blossom. She would have shared her lover's exile, and braved hardship and deprivation with him. She would have borne shame and infamy. She would have endured the scorn and pity of the world. She would have sacrificed home, and every domestic peace, to have lightened his load of sorrow, and soothed his ill-starred lot; for she never doubted his innocence for an instant. But her father! she could not forsake him; she could not leave him in his old age to mourn alone, to die unwept. She loved her parent with a genuine enthusiasm, and resolved to make filial duty the strongest motive to action. Hers was not a spirit to be altogether subdued by adversity. It was crushed and bruised, but still it rose from its first state of overwhelmed wretchedness. She felt that life could have in it nothing bright for her; yet she did not yield to despair, but endeavoured to beguile her own griefs by the most watchful affection to her father. He, like Mary, felt perfectly assured that his young friend was not guilty. But Arthur was under the ban of the law—a convicted felon—a branded assassin: to unite his child's fate with such an outcast was impossible. He could, therefore, only trust that time might dispel some of the clouds that rested so heavily on the prospects of the future. He could only hope that Heaven would, in its good time, clear away the darkness that now oppressed his house.

"It was soon manifest that the conflict was too severe for Mary's physical powers. The secret melancholy that preyed upon her heart opened a sure way for the approach of insidious disease. The warm

glow of health passed from her cheeks, and the sparkling glance no longer darted from her eyes : that elasticity of step with which she used to walk so gaily along, with Arthur by her side, was gone. Her smile was of sadness, and the suppressed sigh would often escape unconsciously, betraying how painful was the struggle in her bosom. Oh ! 'tis a sad and fearful thing to watch the fading flower—to see it, in life's first spring, droop day by day—to see its vivid colours disappear, and all that once was fair and pure and beautiful to look upon, become a sickly and withered plant. What dew can again revive the sapless heart ? What breeze can again refresh the blighted affections ? Colonel Hamilton saw all this in his child ; it inflicted a deeper pang than any he had yet experienced. Change of air and scene were recommended ; and he decided to pass into Italy, and spend the winter in a softer climate. It was for this purpose that he set out, rather late in the season, from Geneva. Mary having expressed a wish to cross the St. Bernard, he took that pass. They arrived at the Hospice, and were detained by the causes before stated."

The monk here paused, as the evening was far advanced ; and the next day he continued his story. "I must now," he said, "give a short history of the early life of the Countess de Vegnet, who, as mentioned already, arrived here on the same night with the English travellers, and so unexpectedly encountered her early friend Mary Hamilton. The countess was of Spanish birth, and the proud blood that throbbed in her veins claimed descent from a long line of ancestry. Her person was tall and commanding : dignity and love were in her every gesture. Her character was marked by strong passions, and her sentiments and ideas were of that vivid, almost morbid, kind, which too frequently entail misery and disappointment on their possessor. She formed a sincere attachment to Mary when they were together, though the two were very dissimilar in tastes and pursuits. Paulina had none of the exuberant spirits and warm enthusiasm of her light-hearted friend ; but the springs of her feeling were perhaps deeper, and certainly stronger, from not finding a fit channel in which to flow. Whilst Mary had a smile, or a tear, ever ready to sympathize with each one's joys or sorrows, the emotions of Paulina were rarely developed, but by the tale of some wild or romantic distress. After leaving Geneva, she went to reside in one of those beautiful valleys that branch from the Black Forest, and down which the winding and impetuous Meurg takes its course. On its wild banks, and amid the surrounding picturesque scenery, several of her succeeding years were passed. And whilst

the mind gained strength and knowledge, her person was matured into perfect symmetry. During this time, her hand had been often sought by the wealthy and noble, but she had refused all her suitors with indifference or contempt; and it seemed that the heart of the proud beauty was not to be won.

“Rudolph Willenheim was the son of a neighbouring gentleman, who had but little rank or fortune to boast of. His lineage was pure and noble, and the domains of his sires had, in times gone by, furnished their swelling train of vassals and dependents. But circumstances had deprived succeeding generations of a portion of their honours and their lands, and the present Baron Willenheim resided in comparative poverty and retirement. It was about the time Paulina had entered her twentieth year that Rudolf returned from the university, and took his place in the home of his father. From a child, he had exhibited strong indications of an impetuous and sensitive temperament. During his education, the visionary notions he had early imbibed were fostered rather than checked. He devoured with avidity all the imaginative works of romance, with which the German school of literature abounds. He fed upon them; they formed part of his existence. He delighted to dwell on their wild speculations, and to plunge deep into the abstruse mazes of conjecture and mystery. Though he had lived in the busy world, and had associated with men, he knew little of their passions or habits, their vacillations and their malevolence. His world was in his own breast. There, everything was clothed with sunshine; every object was surrounded by a bright halo, that shed upon it one peculiar colour. The lens through which he contemplated the future was a deceptive one; it showed him things as he wished them to be, not as they really are. For some time after his return to his native valley, he loved alone to climb the rocky steeps of the neighbouring mountains, and to gaze over their wide and magnificent prospects; or to watch the sparkling waterfall, as it leaped from crag to crag down the rugged dell. He loved to wander by the rippling stream, and mark its limpid waters flow murmuring on. He loved to recline beneath the shade of some oak or dark embowering pine, to tell the parting day, and then to hold communion in thought with strange creatures not of earth—elves and fairies. It was on these occasions that he could indulge, undisturbed, the wandering visions of his fevered imagination. From the chimeras of his heated fancy, he could people the silent solitudes with ideal beings, and make every tree and shrub instinct with life. He could create himself their king, and summon with a beck the presiding genii of

the mountains, and the guardian spirits of the sylvan groves, to realise his commands. In the green turf, which rose sloping from the crystal fountain, enamelled with flowerets of every hue, he beheld his throne. In the vast vault of heaven, spangled with the countless host of blazing stars, he saw his canopy. The pearly dew, as they lay glittering in the silver moonbeams, were his treasures; and in the whispering boughs, as they waved in the night breeze, he heard the music of a thousand sylphs. In such reveries would he often pass away the swift fleeting hours, until midnight surprised him in his lonely imaginations. He saw Paulina. She instantly became the queen of his fabled goddesses, and the reality of his most ideal picturings. A new field was opened to him. Her image was now associated with every scene. She was the ruling power that swayed his destiny. But his day dreams were ere long to be broken, and the magic wand of phantasy to give place to the unwelcome rod of truth. He met her again, and again. She was his soul's idol, and he believed that she returned his love. Yes! he believed that she felt the same deep intense affection that glowed in his heart.

"As may be supposed, Rudolf's temperament was not one to brook long delay. His love was not like the soft zephyr that sighs gently along, stealing with a kiss the sweets from the blushing flower. It was rather the fierce whirlwind, that bears down every obstacle, and concentrates every feeling in one overwhelming vortex. He told her of his passion. He poured out his whole soul. He spoke in words of fire. She turned from him with scorn. She replied to him with disdain. Each syllable fell like scorching metal on his excited brain, and stung him to madness. He left her. He fled from the scenes no longer dear to him. He became a hopeless fugitive. In a few months, tidings reached his friends that he had died in a distant land. Many mourned his hapless fate, and even Paulina shed bitter, though unavailing tears.

"Years rolled on, and Rudolph ceased to be remembered. When men mix, and are occupied in the ever-changing events of life, the interest of the present soon obliterates the impressions of the past. They behold the green mantle of spring cast over the face of nature; they hear the melody of birds, and the glad song of the husbandman returning from his labours; they forget the cheerlessness of winter, and lifeless silence of the fields and groves; they enjoy the blessings of peace and the delights of friendship and love; and they no longer remember the miseries of war, the sword of the destroyer, and the desolation of bereavement. It is only in barren solitude,

where the quiet tenor of man's life is unbroken, and where creation herself refuses to smile in the garish sunbeam, that the chilling winter of the soul, the never-brightening hopelessness of the spirit, can be felt. It is there that the lone heart can dwell on the remembrance of joys for ever gone, and cherish sorrows never to be effaced.

"The home of Paulina was situated near a celebrated German watering-place, much frequented by the idle and curious, as well as the genuine admirers of natural scenery in all its diversities of sublimity and beauty. The ennuéed voluptuary who seeks change merely to relieve his satiety—the follower of pleasure in its most alluring forms—the votary of gay revelry and thoughtless dissipation—the slave of the burning excitement of the hazard-table, with its seductive concomitants—all these resorted to B——, and there found opportunities of gratifying their several pursuits. One season, among the visitors was the Count de Vegnet, an Italian nobleman of high rank and reputed wealth. He did not enter into the lighter amusements of the place, but he played constantly and deeply. This man became acquainted with Paulina, and professed to entertain for her the most violent passion. She had lately inherited a considerable property and might be considered an heiress. This circumstance probably, in a great measure influenced his conduct, and determined his choice; for a mind, vitiated and sensualized, like his, could not feel that pure and holy sentiment which sanctifies the altar of love. His offering could only be made to the temple of passion, or on the shrine of avarice. Before leaving B——, he made honourable proposals of marriage to Paulina. Her first impulse was to reject him, but the wishes and commands of her parents, added to the apparent splendour of the alliance, at length prevailed over her scruples. She consented to become his wife.

"After their marriage the count and his lovely countess returned to the vicinity of Naples, where his estates were situated; and, for sometime, Paulina was absorbed in a gay series of pleasures and enjoyments. Every thing seemed bright. But alas! she soon learned that pomp and pageant, of themselves, are insufficient to secure happiness. She soon found, that in the dazzling halls and amid the blaze of princely magnificence, pangs of lonely wretchedness might be felt—that beneath the jewelled tiara and the spangled zone, a burning brain might throb, and a bleeding heart might pulsate. De Vegnet had hitherto appeared under false colours. He had disguised his real sentiments and opinions in order to accomplish an end. Having done this, and having obtained the pos-

session of his wife's fortune, which had become absolutely necessary to enable him to continue in his habits of lavish extravagance, his true character began to develope itself. He was mean, selfish and morose, without one spark of generosity in his soul, without one noble feeling in his breast. He was implacable in his hatred; hollow and insincere in his friendships. He was the victim of furious and vindictive passions, which often involved him in private quarrels not unfrequently ending in scenes of violence and blood. He was alike feared and despised by all who knew him. With this man Paulina found, but too late, that she had intrusted her happiness. At first he shewed her the greatest consideration, and was all kindness and smiles; for his object was to deceive her, as regarded his real character, until he had induced her, under various pretences, to place the whole of her property in his hands. This was all he desired, and he had now no motive for acting with duplicity. The mask was, therefore, thrown off. By degrees, he neglected his wife. His behaviour became cold and heartless; and, at last, he treated her with cruelty and scorn. His house was the resort of the profligate and abandoned. He was false to his promises, and a traitor to his marriage vow. For sometime, the proud spirit of Paulina refused to complain; and, when at length she did remonstrate, the only answer she met with was insult and derision. It stung her almost to madness; whilst he, the black-hearted villain, saw her, whom he had taken from innocence and joy, plunged deep in the pit of misery and despair. Yet the fiend knew no compunction; the demon felt no pity, no remorse. He wished his victim dead, in order that nothing might cross the broad path of vice he had determined to pursue.

"Having occasion to take a journey to Paris, the count determined that his wife should accompany him, although from delicate health, she was little able to bear the fatigue. He took the road over the Great St. Bernard; it was on this occasion, that he and his retinue were detained at the Hospice, as before mentioned.

"Thus far," continued the monk, "I have given you an account of the individuals who so strangely met here, under such peculiar circumstances—and who for some days partook together of our hospitality. I must now proceed to relate briefly the incidents that occurred during their stay, and describe the scenes of which I became a witness. At this time, there was in the monastery a monk who had joined the fraternity about two years before. He had ever kept aloof from all strangers, and as much as possible from the brethren. He appeared

only at the customary devotions, or when it was his turn to attend upon the sick. But he loved to dare the perils of the mountain path when the elements were warring in fearful fury. The chilling blast, the howling tempest, the sweeping storm, and the devastating avalanche, were more congenial to his spirit, than the quiet monotony of a cloistered life. In consequence of this, he was ever ready upon any expedition of hazard or danger, and he always accompanied the servants of the Hospice, when employed in succouring the benighted travellers, or in rescuing them from the snows.

“One night, soon after the arrival of Colonel Hamilton and the count, a party was sent out to traverse the mountain, in order to give assistance to any unfortunate wayfarers who might have been overtaken by the darkness. This monk as usual attended them.

“They visited most of the dangerous parts of the track, and were returning home when the sagacity of one of their dogs, discovered a person overwhelmed by the snow. Life in him was not yet quite extinct; he was quickly conveyed to the monastery and placed in the saloon where the strangers were partaking of the evening refreshment. All gathered around, and proffered their aid. His face, on being exposed, displayed a fine noble countenance on which the death agony seemed stamped. At this moment, a wild shriek burst from Mary, and she fainted in the arms of her father. At the same time, the countess uttered a fearful cry, and rushed from the apartment. All was now confusion; and, for a time, the dying man was forgotten.

“Mary soon revived; and, never shall I forget her look of concentrated anguish, the sad piercing accents in which she exclaimed, ‘Oh! my God! he is dead.’ The cause of this extraordinary conduct was shortly explained. The being who now lay apparently lifeless before her, was Arthur de Rosenberg. She knelt by his side. Her hands clasped in agony—her eyes raised imploringly to heaven—her beautiful countenance exhibiting the strongest emotion—and her lips moving with fervent prayer—she seemed as an angel of life sent to arrest the departing spirit, to rekindle the fast expiring spark of vitality. She parted the dark hair upon his marble forehead—she held her lips over his, but no warm breath returned her sigh—she placed her hand upon his heart, but no responsive throb vibrated to her touch. She again sank insensible by his side. For a short time, all were silent. Her father covered his face with his hands, and wept in uncontrollable anguish. Oh! it is a fearful thing to see an old man’s tears. In youth, the springs of sensibility lie near the sur-

face, and may be called forth by the first stroke of sorrow, or even by the tale of suffering and distress ; but in age, when the more acute feelings have been blunted, and the genuine impulses of our nature have been checked, when the heart has been chilled by a contact with a cold world, and the softer passions have been subdued, severe indeed must be that blow, which can cause those fountains, so long dried up, to again flow with the bitter waters of affliction.

“ The unconscious youth was now removed to another apartment, and the customary restoratives applied. By degrees, animation began to return, and great hopes were entertained of his recovery. In the mean time, Colonel Hamilton had regained his composure, and proceeded to give the monk before spoken of, a short history of Arthur, and of the circumstances that had obliged him to become an exile from his native land. The holy man heard him with increasing attention, and during the narrative asked many questions as to the exact time and place, when the supposed murder of the priest occurred. ‘ Mysterious providence ’ at length he exclaimed, ‘ how inscrutable are thy ways ! How infinitely beyond the scope of human intellect to fathom ! How far beyond the reach of human knowledge to define ! The darkness and the storm may do thy bidding, and display thy mercy equally with the bright sunbeam, or the gentle zephyr ; the cup of death and misery may contain the elixir of life and the Lethé of sorrow ; the very instruments of woe and destruction, may be converted into the means of happiness and salvation.’

“ As he spoke, all gazed upon him with astonishment, and waited anxiously for some exposition of his strange words. He continued, addressing himself to Colonel Hamilton, ‘ at the time this unfortunate affair occurred to your young friend, I was travelling in the neighbourhood of —, collecting contributions for our order. One day, on passing a small chalet situated near an unfrequented path of the mountain, my attention was called by a cry of distress. I immediately turned to the hut ; and on entering it, discovered stretched, upon the floor, a man evidently in a dying state, with the blood flowing from a recent wound in his side. I gave him some wine, which in some measure revived him. He had on the habiliments of a friar ; but, under his dress, was a belt containing a pistol, and several stilettoes. When he was able to speak, he asked if I were a priest, and would shrive him. On being required to confess a shudder passed over him ; he turned his face from me, but I entreated him, by every argument, not to plunge his soul into eternity with all its load of sin unrepented. He heard me with strong emotion, and, after some he-

sitation, he replied 'I will, I will! but mine is a horrible story.' He then gave me a short sketch of his life; and from this it appeared, that he had been for some years carrying on a system of plunder and violence, sometimes leading a band of brigands and at others, under various disguises, luring unwary travellers with false appearances and watching an opportunity to rifle and destroy his victims. But he had not always been abandoned; and the memory of his early days, passed in peace and happiness, came across him in his last hour. I then asked how he came to be wounded, he replied; 'I will tell you, but first take this,' placing a ring in my hand, 'and promise me'—Before he could proceed, nature was subdued—he sank back—his eyes closed—his upraised hand fell passive—his lips parted; and, with a few confused words of prayer, his spirit fled. On my arrival at the next town, which was in an opposite direction to —, I gave information of these circumstances, and proceeded on my journey.'

"Mary, who had recovered from her fainting, and who had listened in breathless anxiety to every word that had passed, now started up; and, laying her hand upon the monk's arm, exclaimed with wild energy—'but the ring! where is it! where is it!' 'Here, lady,' he replied, and placed it in her hand. She cast one look at it—'it is!' she exclaimed, 'it is my own gift to him! his innocence will now be proved.' During the recital of the foregoing particulars, the object most materially interested in them had so far recovered as to be able to speak, and to take some refreshment; but it was not yet thought desirable to tell him of the joy that was in store for him. In the mean time, the countess had sent an urgent request to speak with one of the fathers. They were all occupied in devotion save the monk so often mentioned, and he repaired instantly to her apartment.

When he entered the chamber her face was averted, and her hands clasped over her brow. He closed the door; and, gently approaching, asked how he could serve her. She slowly turned her head and fixed upon him her full dark eyes, with a look so wild, so fraught with agony, that he started back and stood transfixed in amazement. His countenance assumed an ashy paleness. His limbs trembled. He felt that sickness of soul which no language can describe. His gaze was rivetted intently on the object before him; and, for some moments he remained incapable of speech or motion. At length, with a strong effort, the countess broke silence, and exclaimed, 'It is, then, a reality. It is he himself! Merciful Heaven! support me. Rudolf,' she continued, 'they told me you were dead, and I thought myself your murderer. I wept in bitterness of spirit, but my tears

were unavailing. I was doomed to expiate my fault. You now behold a miserable heart-broken creature, subdued by misfortune, oppressed by anguish and remorse, borne down by wretchedness and despair, but it has been of my own seeking. My own pride and folly have embittered every drop in the cup of life. Yet pity me. But how can I ask you to pity me—you whom I have so much injured—you whom I have so deeply loved? Oh! I know not what I say, yet I must speak. Yes, Rudolf, I deeply loved you! You alone had my first, my only affection; but I thought to humble you. I wished to gratify my vanity by seeing you at my feet, pleading a cause already sufficiently advocated. To show my own power, I trifled with a heart I would have died for; but I was justly punished for my duplicity. Since that day I have not known peace, and the horror of my present fate is aggravated by the remembrance that I might have been blessed and happy. And now, can you forgive, can you pity me? Speak, I implore you! I am now sinking fast into the grave, where alone I can find rest; and were I but assured of your forgiveness, I could then calmly, nay gladly, meet death.'

"Rudolf had hitherto been silent. The mingled feelings of joy, surprise, grief, admiration, and regret, had alternately agitated his mind, and he was bewildered with conflicting sensations. Every word of Paulina had reached to the inmost recesses of his soul. Every syllable had awakened the dormant, but not extinct, energies of his nature. He was in a mingled delirium of bliss and torture. But the last appeal roused him to the terrible reality. He took her hand. The touch ran through his veins. His brain burned. No longer master of himself, he caught Paulina in his arms. He clasped her to his breast, and poured forth his long-suppressed feelings in a torrent of wild and impassioned language. He recalled the time when he had first seen her in his native valley. He remembered the hours of exquisite happiness he had there spent. He forgot his present sacred office. He forgot that she was the wife of another. He forgot everything, but that his beloved lay upon his bosom, that his arms encircled her, that her warm tears fell upon his cheek, that her heart throbbed responsive to his own; and, as he strained her again and again to that heart, and impressed a fervent kiss upon her lips, there was no external world for him. He thought not of time or eternity. Heaven could not long permit such a profanation to continue unpunished. A faint shriek from Paulina recalled him from his madness. He turned and beheld the Count de Vegnet, who had entered unobserved, and thus witnessed his wife in the monk's em-

brace. At first the Italian's saturnine visage exhibited a malicious smile of triumph, which quickly changed to a demoniac scowl of hatred. With one hand he seized the unfortunate countess; with the other, he plunged a dagger in the breast of Rudolf.

"Before any alarm could be given, the count fled and escaped to France, where he was soon after assassinated in a street brawl. The countess had a long and dangerous illness, from which she ultimately recovered. Shortly afterwards she entered the sanctuary of a convent, where the comforts and consolations of religion soothed her bruised spirit, and opened to her view that bright heaven where there shall be no more death or sorrow.

"Colonel Hamilton recognised, amongst the servants of the count, the person who had appeared at — as the principal witness at the fatal trial; and, from the confessions of this wretch, information was obtained which, when combined with the previous testimony of the monk regarding the ring, afforded complete evidence of Arthur's innocence. His friends were, in consequence, enabled to procure a reversal of the decree of his banishment, and he was speedily restored to his father, his native land, and his beloved Mary.

"In this dreary solitude, separated as it is from the rest of the world, and divided from intercourse with men and manners, the most trivial instances become subjects of interest. No wonder, then, that these strange incidents should be long remembered in the Hospice; but now they are almost forgotten; and more recent occurrences occupy the thoughts of my brother inmates. Yet on my mind the impression of these circumstances is as vivid as the scenes of yesterday. No time or change can obliterate them. I can now see the graceful form of Mary bending in silent anguish over the breathless body of her lover. I can now hear the expressions of rapturous joy that burst from her lips when she found that he lived and was innocent. I can now behold the pale melancholy and touchingly beautiful countenance of Paulina as she told her tale of woe. I now have before me the devilish malignity spread over the features of De Vegnet, as he plunged his dagger in *my* breast—yes! you may be surprised; but I am Rudolf! It was *my* heart's blood that he sought. The wound was not fatal—would it had been! I should then have escaped misery such as no words can tell. But, no! I should then have died with a curse upon my soul. Heaven is all-wise, the omnipotent disposer of life and death is all-merciful."

M.

AN ESSAY ON THE EXPEDIENCY AND MEANS OF ELEVATING THE PROFESSION OF THE EDU- CATOR IN THE ESTIMATION OF THE PUBLIC.

“Wie kommts? Ist etwa der Bildung der Menschennatur an sich selbst eine geringere Kunst, als die Tanz—die Schauspiel—die Gesang—die Reitkunst, und die Kenntniss der Modenartikel? Ist etwa wirklich die Fertigkeit des Tänzers, die Bildung des Schauspielers, die Kunst eines Sängers, die Sattelfestigkeit des Reuters, und das Wissen eines Modehändlers mehr werth, als der Umfang der Erfordernisse der Menschenbildung im Ganzen?

“So viel ist gewiss: der Mensch, das Meisterstück der Schöpfung, sollte auch das Meisterstück seiner selbst, das Meisterstück seiner Kunst seyn.

“Aber ist er's, nachdem er Jahrtausende gelebt hat, ist er's. Kann er jezt auf seinen Lorbeeren ruhen, und es aussprechen: ich bin was ich seyn soll?“—*Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung.*”

PART I.—“THE EXPEDIENCY.”

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

INTELLIGENCE is the sublimest characteristic of God, for it is that which actuates all the divine attributes, pervades the universe, and reflects through creation the visible similitude of the divine wisdom.

Intelligence is the high prerogative of man, created first with all his appetences eager for a pleasurable existence, his nature had yet to receive a nobler distinction in the approachable likeness to God, who shed over him the lustrous beatitude of his own image, and man became the reflective intelligence of his maker.

Intelligence therefore is the connective affinity between God and man, and though the original excellence of the soul be lost, and her brightness obscured, into the spiritual Eden kept and cultivated to

* How! Is, then, the education of human nature in itself less important than the knowledge of dancing, of the drama, of singing, of horsemanship, and the fashionable accomplishment of the day—is then, indeed, the expertness of the dancer, the science of the actor, the art of the singer, the skill of the horseman, or the wisdom of the fashionist, of more worth than the compass of the necessary education of human nature in the whole?

So much is certain: man, the masterpiece of creation, should also be the masterpiece of himself, and the masterpiece of his art.

But is it so? After the experience of a thousand years, is he perfected? Can he now repose upon his laurels and exclaim, ‘I am what I should be?’

the highest possible perfection, the Deity may still descend and hold converse with his creature, and lead him through the observation and understanding of Nature, to the contemplation and worship of the divine holiness.* But this intelligence has another and nearer application, and herein, too, the similitude between the creature and the creator is obvious that as the attributes of the Deity are subject to intelligence, so the human virtues, which are the infinitely remote shadows of the divine, should be submissive to that "wisdom which cometh from above," that virtue should not arise from a brief and precarious impulse, but from an actuating principle in the soul—"a new command give I unto you, that ye love one another." But how shall this law be fulfilled, when the image of God languishes fainter and fainter in the soul? for comparatively with his ignorance man degenerates, and in his debasement secedes farther and farther from the divine similitude. The translation of exalted intelligences into the "sanctities of heaven" is the declared object of mortal probation. Created with an inquisitive faculty, man begins in infancy the process of adaptation, taught by the Great Teacher himself through the instinctive and educative faculty of his being, ascending from the unerring acquisitions of first truths, to the comprehension of truths natural and revealed; until, refining more and more from the grossness of earth in his approachable resemblance to God, exhibiting in the two extremes of child-like simplicity and exalted intelligence, the perfection of humanity. "For the end of learning is to repair the ruin of our first parents, by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love Him, to imitate Him, to be like Him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection."†

Scarcely subsidiary to this divine purpose, but indeed correlative with it, is the relation and duty of man to man, how and in what manner he shall advance the well-being and happiness of all mankind, recognizing in each individual the fullest extension of the di-

* *Menschenbildung in ihrer Vollendung ist das Ideal wornach wir streben, von dem wir aber mit Paulus sagen: nicht dass ichs schon ergriffen habe und vollkommen sey; ich jage ihm aber nach, auf dass ergreifen möchte.—Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung.*—Education in its perfection is the ideal after which we strive, of which we might say, with Paul, "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect, but I follow after, if that I might apprehend."

† Milton.

vine law of "doing unto others that which he would they should do unto him." The application is hidden in the mystery of knowledge, not the mere knowledge of utilities, but that higher wisdom which associates mankind in one fellowship of love. Inclusive, therefore, intelligence involves all temporal good, which reconciles contraries, quickens every enjoyment, and multiplies the means.

That "knowledge is power" is familiarized as an axiom; and, however incomprehensive the capacity of that power, its efficacy is no longer problematical, for, by a principle essential to its existence, nations gain an ascendancy proportionate to their knowledge, which, further carried out, is also predicable of societies, of families, and of individuals. Every thing surrounding and influencing man witnesseth the beneficence of knowledge, as much so from the argument of his wants, as from the pleasures of fruition. But, notwithstanding the dignity and usefulness of knowledge, and though man by his nature is adapted to possess it, he exhibits a repugnance, for which ignorance is no plea, and in his insane opposition to its progress presents an inexplicable contrary in his self-love. He beholds the elements changed in their relations, ponderous bodies transformed into aerial, or condensed again into fluids, intractible metals fashioned into the thousand utilities of civilized life, "the great globe itself and all which it inhabits," touched by the Ithuriel spear of intelligence, submissive to his will and applicable to his wants. Yet must he be driven as a bondsman in the pursuit and acquisition of this (to him) creative power; at best to be dragged in the mire of a money-making sensuality, disfiguring the original image of God into the likeness of mammon, and turning the temple of the soul into a "house of merchandise."

But, reflecting upon the virtue of knowledge, both as it concerns the temporal and spiritual interest of man, what is the cause of the unnatural and parasitic evil attached to it, or whence comes so strange an anomaly in his conduct? Of evils, the most prominent are the tyranny of prejudice and the tyranny of teaching; the former tyranny will remedy itself if the latter and greater evil be removed, inasmuch as the tyranny of teaching not only seals up the innate inquisitiveness of the soul, but, by a mistake of the cause, knowledge is abhorred as the tyrant itself. By this tyranny over the tender spirits of children, good and evil are substituted for each other by an irresponsible choice, and which years of experience can hardly correct in the thinking and conduct of man.

But it is not the severity of coercion which is merely included in

the word tyranny, but the whole imperfect system of education pursued in too many schools in Great Britain. Can there be a harsher tyranny than the ill-directed teaching of an unskilful master?* for whether learning be obnoxious from the tediousness of the process, or from the stripes of the rod, is of little consequence in the result. Without ascending to the heights of prophecy, but by an historical comparison of the social and intellectual character of all nations in all ages, it is neither a superstitious nor a sceptical opinion that, as long as the school discipline is characterized by its present empiricism and dull formality—as long as schoolmasters are the despised and needy busters of a teaching trade—as long as the office is prostrated with all that is abject in circumstances and debased in opinion—so long will the nation present a godless, soulless, degraded character, in continuous retrogression from the presence and communion and image of God, into a lost and irrecoverable heathenism.

“Amidst all the shocks and revolutions of empires, a good system of public instruction would serve as a common insurance of this realm. And if it occupied the attention of governments as much as the incitements to avarice and the ambition of false glory, we might, to use a metaphor, admire the future prospect of *Astrea* descending from heaven, and reviving the reign of innocence and concord among men. Hitherto the earth can only be examined as a vast theatre of depopulation and waste; it is surely time to contemplate the dawns of reason, happiness, and humanity, rising from among the ruins of a world which still reeks with the blood of its people, civilized as well as savage.”† But, however badly constituted the education system be, what is further to be deplored is, that even its slender benefits are partial and exclusive; as if difference of circumstances dispossessed man of his reason, expunged the divine image, and retroverted him into his irrational and animal being. The only knowledge the poor man is permitted to imbibe is to be sucked in through “the pipe

* The writer of this essay does not impugn the intellectual and moral character of schoolmasters indiscriminately, but rather questions their possessing what to him appears of much higher importance, inasmuch as it precedes knowledge itself—the temperament or genius of teaching, and the philosophic understanding of the compound nature of man. The qualifications, indeed, of a teacher of youth, are so multiform and rare, as it were, the fruition of *all knowledge* and excellence, that, as Milton expresses, “I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses.”

† York.

of a sectary," which, partly from the early drenching process of its administration, and partly from its sameness and insipidity, leaves in maturer age scarcely any remembrance beyond the shadow of a creed.

On the other side, the maximum of education is seldom enough to exalt the soul above the mere doings of the day. Trained in what is aptly called a "commercial school," the pupils leave it scarcely more intelligent, and far more impure; or those who hang their satchels against the walls of a "classical academy," do they derive more useful knowledge or less moral defilement? or the inmates of the colleges and universities, do they learn to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasure? The same bad system of education prevails (more or less) from the universities to the village school, every day augmenting the overwhelming evil of a national, moral, and intellectual depravity.

Let it be remembered that it is knowledge which has raised man above the barbaric character of the savage, which has supplied him with every novelty and administered to every want. If, then, even so far as temporal good is concerned, the education of the *few* has done so much, what might not be looked for, with no vain prophetic eye, were all men educated!

Education is the interest of individuals, of societies, and of the world. Education is the strongest security of law, that moderates innovation, and by an universal self-respect establishes a voluntary submission to authority.

To redeem mankind from the superstitions and grossness of error Education must be elevated into a science, presiding over every other species of knowledge, thereby raising the first formative principle of the soul into an inclination for truth, man may regain to know God aright, and represent in his intelligence and goodness the image of his Maker. But the science of education, to be perfect as a whole, must be perfect in its parts, otherwise it will soon decline to its old corrupt and distempered state. The elevation of the duties must, therefore, involve the elevation of the office; and there can be no greater argument for "the expediency of elevating the profession of the educator" than the expediency of proving it.*

* Das Bedürfniss eines solchen Blattes spricht sich durch nichts so bestimmt aus als dadurch, dass diese Frage geschieht. * * * Wenn ein Tanzmeister, ein Schauspieler, ein Sänger, ein Bereuter, ein Dilettant der Mode und des Luxus der in seiner Kunst einigen Ruf hätte, ein Blatt für die Bildung in derselben ankündigte, kein gebildeter Mensch unserer Zeit würde fragen: wozu das? Aber bei der Ankündigung eines Blattes für Menschenbildung schwebt diese Frage auf den Lippen von so vielen.—

CHAPTER II.

THE PRESENT DEGRADED STATE OF THE OFFICE.

THE dignity of an office is the authority of its law; whether the productions of science and the arts, or the constitution and fabric of a government, which necessarily precedes the authority or office of either, the office ascends above the works by which it was created, and becomes their law; and it is the just and only security of knowledge, that as the faculties of the soul are subordinate to the office of the soul, so the offices of learning are pre-eminent over learning itself, as the model and representative of their utmost reach. Nor can the dignity of an office be subordinate but by the destruction of its duties. Neither the indiscretions nor crimes of the servants of the church, the senate, nor the bar, could deject the dignity of either offices, whereas each office would appropriate to itself the virtues and celebrity of its officer. These professions have a fixed elevation in society, that not even the loosest conduct of their professors could subdue; in the comparison they alone would be vitiated in public esteem; in all such instances the men sink and not the office, which must be co-existent and co-extensive with the utility and excellence of its duties. There is one violent exception to this rule. The office of teaching derives neither interest nor importance from the character of the teacher, or the reputation of the taught. Even that first and most vital of offices, which gives to the soul of childhood its first impulses, illumines it with the first rays of intelligence, and quickens the new-born affections and tender sympathies of a pure and undefiled spirit, is prostrated among all that is abject in circumstances and contemptible in opinion. The office contrary to a general law is subordinate to the duties of the office, so that no fixed character is attached to it, but it is higher or lower relative to the station and success of the educator. Familiarized as we are with the degraded state of the educative office, and regarding schools as a mere trading occupation,

Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung.—The want of such records is proved by nothing so much as that this question occurs. If a dancing master, an actor, a singer, a modist, or a diletante of fashion and luxury, celebrated in his art, should announce a work for instruction in either art, would it be asked, wherefore? But with the announcement of a record for education, this question rises upon the lips of so many.

we can hardly comprehend the nature of the evil or see any degeneracy in the office. The early arbitration of ignorance cast education as the ignoble business of slaves, and through the successive ages even up to this period, the primary opinion, strengthened more and more by error, has thickened into a proverb. Those great and good men who at all periods have been alone worthy to fill so sacred a duty, disgusted and driven away to the more solitary pursuits of literature left the divine trust of teaching truth and goodness, to the herd of promiscuous and ignorant pretenders, who being qualified neither in the knowledge of God nor man, have turned this spiritual magistracy into a grovelling and despicable trade, dragging the highest moral duty to the lowest bent of human degradation. It is no marvel therefore the "profession of the educator" should be so condemned nay contrariwise would be a miracle. To depict more firmly this declension, let the profession be compared with itself and with that of the church. The multitude and varied character of schools, drawn in this comparison is another and incidental evil, what could be more curious than to trace the gradual and the long descent, from the regal professorships of the universities down to the poor half-starved attenuated village school-master or the two pence a week dame schools, where a number indefinitely fixed of poor little children are huddled together in a dark, cold, damp cellar or kitchen, and, ere they can lisp, learn the truth (baptized in tears) that "man is born to trouble"; from the observation of these "seminaries for the young" is it strange that the office should relapse to the lowest place in public opinion? or that the mere name of school should carry with it something abortive and fatal to improvement. But the evils of these schools, are also the evils of those aspiring to the more respectable term of "Academy," modified they may be, but the same evils prevail in all; though their hideous complexion be more or less concealed: it matters little whether it be a two-penny dame school or a "seminary for young gentlemen or ladies,"* poverty, distress, and ignorance of the high virtues of their calling prevail in the same in-

* Nothing is more at variance with common sense, than the silence of even the first writers on education, as to the instruction and right bringing up of *females*, as if those from whom we derive our first and most lasting impressions, might be left to the mere chance of circumstances. Let it not be forgotten therefore that the writer of this essay, though he does not particularize the name, he associates *all* mankind without reference to sex in the essential reparative process of a better education, and that no general remark can apply exclusively to either sex.

corporated and indissoluble compact, and conspire one and all to sink the office deeper and deeper in public estimation. But "up to reascend through utter and through middle darkness" to the most elevated rank of the profession; the comparison is striking, but so indefinitely remote from the opposite extreme as not to be obvious. The office now assumes a new existence has metamorphosed its lean and withered look into the full-blown plethora of excess, framed and gilded with the extrinsic gewgaws, mystical sessamées, and attalantan wealth, of the colleges and universities. But even in these few, far separated instances of the elevated dignity of the "profession of teaching" the elevation is carefully concealed that no identity is felt between the two extremes. By the jugglery of pride, the teacher is transformed into the "professor" and the office is lost sight of in the "professorship." The benefit of a comparison is therefore dead to the public who can hardly recognize an alliance where not only the circumstances but even the designation is exchanged.* The distinctions so widely drawn between the qualities of teaching, are not less carefully preserved, that it would call for a more than ordinary discrimination to trace a connection; while a ban excommunicates and vilifies the office of the educator, the ministerial agency, which however worthy of the highest honour, must be by a natural succession posterior to the first truth of education, is yet beheld with an exclusive and therefore tyrannous reverence, as though the efficacy of prevention was subordinate to that of cure, or the building up of the tender and obedient spirit of youth, to a more willing disposition to receive the truth with meekness, were an object less valuable to the world or less acceptable to God than the tardy conversion of men grown old in sin.†

"Lycurgus‡ also in the institution of the Lacedemonian commonwealth took no care about learning, but only the lives and manners of their children, though I should think that the care of both is best

* Let it be understood that the author does not condemn the elevated position and name of the professorships of our colleges, he laments rather that the *whole system* of education is not equally elevated in importance; the comparison is not meant to be *invidious* but merely to make the evil of such extremes more obvious.

† "Einige sagen, der Unterricht fängt an; die Uebung und das Beispiel vollendet. Wir sagen umgekehrt, die Uebung und das Beispiel fangen an, und der Unterricht vollendet."—*Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung*.—Some say instruction should begin, practice and example perfect. We say, on the contrary, that practice and example should begin, and instruction perfect.

‡ Tillotson, *Concerning the Educating of Children*, Sermon 52.

and that learning would very much help to form the manners of children, and to make them both wiser and better men, and therefore with the leave of so great and wise a lawgiver, I cannot but think that this was a defect in his institution ; because learning if it be under the conduct of true wisdom and goodness, is not only an ornament but a great advantage to the better government of any kingdom or commonwealth."

The original dereliction of the office has thrown the whole structure of teaching into confusion and what by its nature, should be consistent with its object (that is the understanding) is distorted into the uncouth and useless finery of fashionable accomplishments. To annihilate the honour of a profession is to abolish its importance and to strip it of the only legitimate inducement which can excite its members. Were the office of a General no more honourable than that of his soldiers, it would instantly subside to the same level and degradation. It is the conventional authority of a law, recognized by a common consent, which constitutes rank ; but the value of the educative office should not be merely an arbitrary assignment, else would it soon decline from its sublime attitude to the plane of those numerous and lower vocations of the arts and sciences.

To compare great things with small "the profession of the educator" should resemble the dignity of Art, on which its professors look with a proud veneration always aspiring to attain a name co-existent with its greatness, working up through all its duties to a mutual and reflex participation of its glory.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEGRADATION OF THE EDUCATOR.*

THE degradation of the educative profession must involve the degradation of the educator. Between the dejection of this office and

* Und nun Erzieher, welchen Namen du auch habest, und aus welcher Gewalt und mit welchem Recht du den Dienst des Heiligthums unserer Natur, die Sorge für die Unschuld, die Bildung der Jugend, die Erziehung der Kinder, als dein Amt, als deinen Beruf ansprechen magst,—darfst du es denken, darfst du es aussprechen: die Art und Weise wie du dein Werk treibst, deine Methode, gehe aus der innern Würde der Menschennatur hervor, sie nehme dieselbe ganz und rein in Anspruch, und erhebe die Kinder zur

that of the officer there exists this essential variance, that the former implicates the latter, but not conversely. The debasement of the one is general, of the other, individual ; were it otherwise, the instability of the laws would abolish the authority of the office. That universal admission makes this rule absolute, is an experimental truth. Whatever might be the character and genius of a teacher, though he should possess the highest faculties of teaching, though society should aid his plans by all possible means, and though his scholars should present in their conduct and understanding the most unlooked-for goodness and intelligence, yet would not the office itself sustain any elevation ; his efforts would be regarded as a sacrifice to his philanthropy, genius, with an unexampled humility, bowed down to the laborious and disgusting duties of a despised profession. The office would neither receive nor reflect any portion of the honour of its agent.

Seeing, therefore, the utter prostration of the profession of educating, and that the importance of the teacher is personal and extrinsic, the whole multitude of schoolmasters, who get a precarious subsistence by teaching, participate alike in the debasement of their office ; and, inasmuch as it throws them upon other and illegitimate resources to rise into notoriety, plunges this most sacred calling into all the dirt and defilements of an unprincipled commerce.

The educator, depressed beneath the dead weight of its opprobrium, so baneful both to the virtues and faculties of the mind and to worldly advantage, that hardly any persons but those who had been already schooled by penury and despair (thus trained to degradation)

Kraft und zum Bewusstseyn derselben als ihre nothwendige Folge ? Darfst du das nicht aussprechen, aus welcher Gewalt sprichst du denn den höchsten Dienst des Heiligthums unserer Natur, die Sorge für die Unschuld und die Bildung der Jugend als dein Amt an ? Mit welchem Recht treibst du ein Geschäft, das beim Mangel an innerer Weihe, ewig nicht dein Amt, ewig nicht dein Beruf seyn kann ?—*Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung*.—And now, educator, which name thou also hast, thou whose office is the service of the sanctuary of our nature, the guardianship of innocence, the education of children, the cultivation of youth, by what authority, by what right, canst thou claim thy vocation ? darest thou think of it, darest thou declare it ? the way and manner in which thou carriest on thy work—thy system, does it arise from the internal dignity of human nature, takes it that pure and perfect claim, and does it, as a necessary consequence, elevate children to the power and to the consciousness of the same. Darest thou not acknowledge by what power thou claimest the highest service of the sanctuary of our nature—the care of innocence and the cultivation of youth—as thy office ? By what right dost thou carry on thy vocation, that, with the want of that internal consecration, can never be thy office, can never be thy calling ?

would adopt the office of teaching. Among the host of the craft, how few of the lower order of schoolmasters have received any other warranty for the business of a teacher than their own compulsive wants ! Failing in every other pursuit, either from a deficiency of integrity or of common sense, they can most easily adopt a business that requires no other patent than a sign board, and no capital but their scholars. Frequently is this adoption the last expiring grasp of beggary, which, though a little protracted by every invention of trickery upon the public, is but a step from the workhouse or the gaol.

But the degradation of the office carries with it other and far-ramifying evils. The sub-teachers, ushers, assistants, dancing masters, French masters, drawing masters, and all those numerous addenda of the "classical and commercial academies," they all participate in the pauperising depression of the trade. The fact is well attested that more than a moiety of the charges paid to them by their pupils, through the hands of the master of the school, is not unfrequently substracted for his (the master's) own purse : and even a heavy discount is further deducted from the already reduced pittance. Slaves to poverty and craving competition, they are forced unshrinkingly and silently to submit to this skinning process ; continually exposed to the tyrannous cruelty of an avaricious and indigent employer, yet too abject to resist. But to examine closer into the interior of the system : still more pitiable are those wretched and isolated beings termed Ushers. It would not be supposed that any rational man who retained one vibration of sensibility could submit to be the meanest slave in an office, bowed down to its lowest prostration, subject unceasingly to the stinging virulence of a superior in beggary ; yet lamentable is the fact that hundreds of tender and delicate minds, are rudely crushed into a service thus abhorrent from every relation. But it is a necessity of the persecuted Usher that he must be either the enemy of the master or of the scholars. The consequence of the former would be an insupportable suffering ; he has no alternative but to become the enemy of the school. The hated spy of the master, every species of deception and boyish fraud is quickly acquired and practised to elude his watchful suspicion. He becomes the creeping reptile of the school-room and the play-ground—a scorned and hated thing, whose very presence brings penalty, a stranger to every grateful emotion, excised from the pleasures and confidence of the

community, a branded solitary in the circle of life.* And this abhorred inquisitor is the teacher and companion of inexperienced and ingenuous youth. But the condition of the educator is in no instance so baneful as to those good and upright men who strive vainly to elevate, by their industry and talents, the dignity and utility of their office.

In vain they direct the full tide of their energies to advance the well-being and improvement of their pupils ; with all their knowledge and humanity, yet uneducated by early and long discipline to the mystery of the office, and perhaps with the fullest benevolence, yet void of that necessary and complex wisdom of the physiology of man, they realize with the labours, the repeated disappointments of Sisyphus. The oppression of domestic cares and professional anxieties soon wears through their first integrity of purpose, like the fabled dragon's teeth that, being sown, came up armed men, their vexations multiply upon themselves, until at last, overwhelmed by the meanness of their office, and the incidental miseries of their circumstances, they slide into a state of irrecoverable moral and intellectual apathy. Those who aimed to be illustrious for their excellence and usefulness, failing of that, turn their deadened minds to their mere worldly success. A contradiction to a general law in the low subaction of the office has created a solecism in truth, and " honesty is found *not* to be the best policy." The moral virtues must descend to a standard of expediency, and new theories, new plans, new vagaries, eject truth and honesty from the scheme of a degenerate and unprofitable profession. The

* The manner in which private schools are mostly supplied with assistants, by means of school agents, is productive of great abuses ; the teacher and master, who correspond through the agent, are completely at his mercy and discretion. If the assistant advance a sufficient fee, it matters little as to his qualifications, or the injury the school will sustain by his admission. " It is an unfortunate coincidence that, while it is the interest of the master to retain a good teacher as long as he can, it is the interest of the agent to keep up a constant fluctuation and removal of assistants. This end is gained in several ways, whether intentionally or not. 1st. By putting a good man into a bad situation. In this instance the assistant will not stop longer than he can avoid. 2nd. By putting a bad man into a good situation. Here the master will not keep him, if he wishes to stop. 3rd. By offering a better situation, as an inducement for change, to a man who is going to college in six months. The assistants are, of course, always on the look out to better themselves ; and the agents are, of course, ready to help them if they can."—See page 201 of the second publication of the Central Society of Education.

startling "prospectus" and "advertisement" impart to the world the merits of the "establishment;" the advantages of the "system" are set forth as nicely and as numerous as the "bill of fare of a Parisian restaurateur; and the holy and dignified offices of education are blazoned about the kingdom like the preposterous tirado of an "universal specific." To examine not too critically these "systems," so loudly vaunted of in these "establishments," and to compare their fixed and inflexible "process of education" with a rational and wisely-yielding plan, necessary to accommodate the instruction to the many and differently constituted minds of a school, the fallacy of such empiricism is palpable. Nothing can betray a more utter ignorance of the requirements in the profession of teaching than to erect a stern and invariable theory, as if it were an easier task to wrest the hereditary and already biased minds of a number of children to one undeviating course of learning, than so to modify that instruction as best may suit the idiosyncrasy and development of their particular mental endowments.* But such preposterous fashions need no exposure; arising from the ingenuity, not the integrity of masters, who, judging rightly of the ignorance and credulity of the public on matters of education, fail not to reap the reward of their novelties. Justifiable frauds end often in severe retaliations; thus, the sinful apathy of a people towards the debasement of this inestimable office rebounds upon them in the curse of a foolish and vicious generation. The trade looks out through the whole system of education, either in the profitless routine of the day, the specious method of its periodical duties, the senseless loss of time wasted in frivolities, or the criminal abduction of one-third of the pupilage to the advertising ceremony of "half-yearly rehearsals" and "public exhibitions." Their pleasures, which, in a wisely-governed school, would be a mere change of pursuit, not a premium for pain, are, like their studies, set off with an advertising novelty. The restless spirit of youth, which asks a wider range than earth itself to satiate its curious hopes, is caged within the limits of fifty or a hundred square yards, divided into the duodecimal locations of a gymnasium, "palæstra," and "curriculum," where the *cives Romani* of the "classical academy" are recreated; the silent with the boisterous, the sober with the gay, the tender with the cruel,

* First endeavour, as well as you can, to discover the particular temper and disposition of children, that you suit and apply yourselves to it, and, by striking in with nature, may steer and govern them in the sweetest and easiest way.—Tillotson, Sermon 52nd, p. 483.

the pious with the profane, all crowded together in one odious compact. But the iniquity of these systems stretches to the terminus of the plan, and is not less embodied in the religion and worship of the school; trailed in pairs through the streets to the sanctuary, the pupils are there spread over the seats most elevated; the assembled congregation count their numbers and admire their discipline, little heeding the effect of these hebdomadal constraints upon minds that retain little but their aversion. The sectarianism of teachers is not an unprolific advertisement; professing to give a *liberal* education, "they convert into a law of hate what Heaven gave us as a law of love, and degrade seminaries for the universal mind of the country into rival garrisons for faction."* Happily nature is stronger than even custom, and thus the officiousness of sectarianism, coerced upon the minds of the young, is rendered vain by the tyranny of its coercion.

Another of the evils springing up into the monstrous structure of education, and one of the pitiful substitutes for a nobler plan, is the value set on the titles of professors; such an error is altogether English, the tatters of the old tinsel of feudal times. This admiration of a college patent stands in the way of a fair enquiry. Pre-supposing that title were an accurate certificate of high attainment and moral excellence, there is still a higher and primary wisdom to be required, which is the emendation and fruit of genius disciplined for the office. Knowledge is merely the material, the form and fabric is the fashioning of *love*.†

Such is a lenient sketch of *some* of the evils arising from the degradation of the office through the agent. These evils of schools are wrongly referred to mere pecuniary causes, and undoubtedly monetary embarrassment must always be an obstacle in the quiet progression of any profession or duty; but the first and real cause, not only of one, but of every other evil, is the degradation of the office. To elevate the circumstances of the educator by a pecuniary disbursement, without first elevating the profession, would but have the effect of raising the officer above the office into a dosing state of apathy and slothful indifference. Under such a change the present evils would be enlarged and multiplied; for the only remaining active sti-

* *Wyse on Education Reform*, a book that should be the companion of every parent and every person.

† "Was keine Gewalt des mächtigsten Herrschers erschafft, das schafft und bildet in Demuth die liebende Kraft."—*Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung*.—What no power of the mightiest ruler can create, that love, in the power of humility, creates and fashions.

mulus would be removed, and the whole soul of the school would be laid fallow under the dull monotony of a senseless routine.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RESULT OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE OFFICE UPON THE SCHOLAR.

THE natural law that "every thing is produced after its kind," is equally true as a moral law ; for the character and conduct of man are but the life and practice of those first and generative impressions of education, and which are divinely and naturally prophetic of the good or evil tendencies of his mind. The divine prediction concurs with a natural corollary "that the sins of the father should be visited upon the child ;" but the law is further extended in its fulfilment, and the sins of the child are reflective in their consequences upon the parent. But what is here said of the parent is equally predicable of the teacher, and the evils of a bad education are retaliated upon the educator and his office. Were it not that the commercial vigilance of the nation kept the public mind in so constant a state of restlessness, the ill success of the present educative system could not fail to claim their indignation. Can there be a more melancholy picture than a great and powerful nation, gifted with the highest privileges of man, religious, moral, intellectual, and worldly, yet degraded in intellect and vitiated in morals ? The spirit of a pure and undefiled religion, offended by our superstition and sceptical faith, may ere long forsake our altars for another and more tractable people, who will not, with a proud and stiff-necked sectarianism, disinherit the power of the spirit from the pre-electing influence of that law of intelligence given unto man, "that he should train up a child in the way he should go," engraving the image of God upon the infant mind, that it may hereafter recognise the divine likeness impersonated in the "Great Exemplar" of truth and holiness. Generation succeeds generation, and ages wither away ; but the day still dawns upon a world full of the miseries of error and sin. The creator has formed in man a law of love, which, by the curse of an evil education, is turned into a law of hate.

The first instinctive perception of life is love ; the maternal nature is love ; from their mutual sense love is born and nurtured ;

the infant inspires love through all its perceptive being ; from sense to sense, in the new developing capacities of its nature up to childhood, love is the element of life and growth. Intelligence is the rational image of God ; love is the natural similitude of man. But another age arrives—the educative age ; the tenderness of home is exchanged for the harshness of school. Three relations influence the education—that of the master, the scholars, and the school. The features of the masters are already depicted.

Not to dwell upon the personal and domestic character of the master, which, however, necessarily enter into the process of education, the teaching system is not only bad, but uncertain. Had a schoolmaster the vision of Elisha, and could unobserved review the conduct of every scholar, he could not instruct them all, the number effectually holds him remote from the individual, and the chances of his examination are so uncertain as to encourage idleness, from the chance of escape. “ The vital and essential part of a school is the master ; but at a public school no boy, or at the best only a very few, can see enough of him to derive any considerable benefit from his character, manners, and information.”*

Moreover there is this disadvantage without perhaps an exception, that the acquirements of the master are not general enough, he may be well adapted for giving instruction in one or two branches of education, and to the study of which his preference has addicted him, but of that wide and universal knowledge of his vocation, which is rather a supervision of the whole than any exclusive part of teaching, masters are deplorably ignorant. An educator should be like a skilful commander over his army governing individuals through accessories, but all through himself, continuously vigilant over the whole school, sitting in his high watch tower, directing and aiding the whole monitory process. But with a degraded office, and a vitiated officer, education deviates into innumerable eccentricities to fit the caprice and profit of the educator. The relation of the scholar to the teacher is, therefore, in every way ill adapted, either for his happiness, goodness, or knowledge. The relation to the scholars—a child is the surest and sweetest teacher of a child ; for whereas men content themselves with words, a child can teach only by things, and first impressions are not only the most lasting, but are the quickest learned and cannot be forgotten,

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvi. p. 332.

because, unlike words, things cannot be reasoned away. The departure of man from the unerring wisdom of nature is ever marked by anomalies. With a vain assiduity he pursues a vague and remote enjoyment forgetting that happiness as a state depends upon present particulars. Parents labour to secure a future and uncertain good, at the certain loss of the present happiness of their children, and under the plea of making them wise in age, they sacrifice the seventh and most pleasurable portion of their lives to the miseries and vices of a school. There is no earthly suffering comparable with that of a tender and sensitive child in a large school. The afflictions of man however severe are softened by sympathy or repelled by religion and philosophy, for "the mind is its own place" and transcends every trouble: but a child in its innocence, unacquainted with grief, inexperienced and helpless, forsaken of all that makes life joyous, the victim of school restraint and compulsion, harassed by selfish and cruel companions and deafened by the riot and noise of their contending tyrannies, is a misery that might overwhelm the mind with sorrow and dismay. Human nature is first abused in childhood to be disabused in manhood, as if the sole business of education, divine and human was alternately to corrupt and purify the mind. Were the system of education conformable to nature, schools would become homes, school-masters fathers, and children compatriots in universal love. For the love of the young is of so social a quality, that they attach themselves by a mutual sympathy to each other; there would then be no invidious and detrimental comparison between home and school, parent and master; a child would find encouragement where now it meets repulse, and the novelty of change would interest the attention, not alarm its fears. But one hard heart depraves a community, for the tyranny of sin is obstinate to overcome goodness; thus the tenderness of infancy and childhood is effaced by the harshness of a corrupt education and an iron fellowship associates mankind. Evil like wealth is self productive, and the primary sin of schools is generative of almost every other sin in the catalogue of the heart. Cruelty presides over time and place, and the school-room and the play-ground are by turns the scenes of selfishness, and childish arts.

If it be argued in apology for such schools, that they the better adapt youth to the world, it cannot be denied, inasmuch as that the world can hardly discover to them a novelty in vice; the difference is only in the object. What can demonstrate the sinfulness and foolishness of man so clearly as the sinfulness of the child, who in-

deed is his type and monogram "for there is no man alone, because every man is a microcosm and carries the whole world about him."*

The relation of the school.—The humiliation of the profession through the educator, has most effectually abolished that course of education which would be most suitable, to the universal and individual mind. The educator receives no authority but his own will, nor is answerable, for the efficiency of his plan. Children are sent to learn, the quality of that learning is generalized under the term liberal or classical education. This monitory process includes the mechanism of writing, spelling, English grammar, arithmetic, elementary geography, and the church catechism, to which elaborate course of study may be added the higher claims of instruction in the classics, the French language, and the use of the globes, a few et ceteras fill up the "prospectus," crowned with the finishing accomplishments of the "gentleman and the scholar" as dancing, fencing, and elocution. There is no speculation more fallacious than what in the world is called a liberal or a commercial education. A liberal education, however much it may promise in the school prospectus and school system usually ends in the acquisition of a certain rote knowledge of the latin grammar, and a very loose way of translating some of the school classics, which has been so drummed into the mind, or rather memory of the scholar, that they ever after look upon classical books with indifference or disgust.

The useful knowledge of grammar, writing, and cyphering, and geography which belong alike to the classical and commercial schools, is so inadequately taught, or at least so indifferently learned, that knowledge of one or all of these studies is with most persons obtained in after life, and of which, the greater number of respectable persons are after all comparatively ignorant. How few are there of the liberally instructed, who could analyze a single sentence grammatically, or even apply one rule of all they had formerly learned; if it were honestly confessed the greater number of persons are egregiously ignorant of the philosophy of their own language, and not until after the experience of many years are the simplest rules understood, no wonder therefore that the speaking of most persons is hesitating and their language incorrect and obscure. Writing which is so plain and easy an art, (after consuming many years in labouring at it) is generally no further useful than to kill

* *Religio Medici*, p. 160.

time, for of all those who are said to write a good school hand, the greater part of them leave the faculty behind them and write ever after a hand most fashionably illegible. Cyphering is made another of the school nuisances, and has had as many sighs and tears poured over it as the altar of Nemesis herself. The knowledge of figures is but ill acquired for so much pain and labour, and usually ends in a sort of running knowledge of the multiplication table, and an indistinct idea of the rule of three: were it not for the responsibility and necessities which prompt the energies of men (in after life) to acquire a better knowledge of these studies, there would remain but the shadow of their existence. As to geography which might be so pleasantly learned in a month, children's memories are filled with a multitude of names of countries, provinces, capitals, towns, rivers, &c., in fact, treading beetle-like from point to point over this vast globe, that at last the memory presents a sort of chaos, a rude and indigestible mass that is too insupportable not to be cast off and forgotten. The sciences, as botany, natural history, mineralogy, geology and many others, are seldom named in the prospectus of the most celebrated establishments. The only approach they make to these studies is through the medium of some poor itinerant lecturer. Those studies which could be taught in the green fields and forest wild and wherever nature was to be seen, when the mind might be questioned by the spirit of the universe, and the sports and joyousness of childhood and youth, would receive a more exquisite delight from the curious and ever new phenomena of nature, unfolded to them through a master intellect all this is hidden from the inquisitive and apt minds of youth, which if wisely and pleasantly inculcated would fill the world with philosophers. School-masters and parents coalesce in the annihilation of a noble and elevated spirit; for they both misapprehend the real object of school; the teacher must be a conformist to the prejudices of the parents, prejudices which originate from their own individual circumstances, so that to *get on* at school involves perhaps twenty different opinions with as many parents, but which getting on is expressive of that tension without substance that is quickly followed by an irrecoverable collapse. But even with this liberal course of study that is to adapt a thinking rational soul for the high purpose of its existence, in its relation to God and man, the moral department is sunk to a few conventional rules, or hushed up in the quietizing specific of "religious formalities." Nearly all our pupils (says the prospectus of one of the most celebrated schools in England) belong to the esta-

blished church. Our morning and evening prayers (which we read with strict regularity) consist of portions in the liturgy. On Sunday our domestic service includes the greater part of the liturgy and the lessons of the day." This, of course, is in addition to a regular attendance at public worship. A part of the time between the hours of service is employed by the pupils in committing the catechism to memory, in transcribing portions of the Scripture or in reading the same with a view to a subsequent examination. Inclusive in these duties rest the whole moral code of the educative scheme in most schools. Valuable as are "religious ceremonies" in raising the soul above a dull and stagnant moral propriety, to the contemplation of a power infinitely glorious over the highest rational excellence; yet acting upon the mere senses of children with no other or deeper consideration of the soul, and unassociated in theory with the example of love, may discipline them to a sect, but will never approximate them to God. "Many parents (and teachers) according to their best knowledge and apprehension of religion in which *they themselves* have been educated, and too often according to their zeal without knowledge, do take great care to plant little and ill grounded opinions in the minds of their children (or scholars) and so fashion them to a party, by infusing into them the particular notions and phrases of a sect, which when they come to be examined, have no substance nor perhaps sense in them; and by this means instead of bringing them up in the true and solid principles of christianity, they take a great deal of pains to instruct them of some doubtful doctrines of no great moment in religion and perhaps false at bottom; whereby instead of teaching them to hate sin, they fix in them schism and teach them to hate and damn all those who differ from them and are opposite to them."* But this compulsive submission of the educator to the doctrines of any particular church, creates another and personal injury to the scholars, for either they must all in the school, wear the same sectarian livery or the worst evil of superstition will be numbered with the vices of the school, and schism and the hate of schism, will be added to the sins of childhood.

The persecution of children is active as their natures; it pursues its object with relentless avidity, and everything that could be associated with the subject of religion is converted into a missile of offence against the innocent victim of their scorn. The prejudices of children are derived from their parents, whose opinions (to them)

* Tillotson, Sermon 52, p. 486.

are naturally infallible ; the bigotry of home is interwoven in the memory of home, and the unchristian-like intolerance of age is thus rekindled, with an undying fire in the heart of the child : fanned and fed by the encouragement of the many and the opposition of the few, it flames into a beacon light of savage superstition and bigotry. With the specious empiricism of a mis-called "religious education," is it strange that the faith of the parents should wax warm, and prognosticate of their children an illustrious race of good and wise men ? But with this general looking for of wonders, and prophesyings of a better and regenerate time, there can be discovered no harbinger, no avant-courier in the van of this golden era, though mankind are still prescient of its coming. The studies of schools begin and end with the mere elements of knowledge, and leave the mind inoperative and incurious after truth. Intellectually and morally the nature of man is depressed below its capacities and purposes ; and even with all the violence and ardour of some masters, the progress of the scholar is marked by the memory more than the understanding of their lessons. The good will of the teacher who ignorantly constrains the mind of youth beyond its own powers and inclinations, and which it might be more slowly brought to approve and accomplish as an agreeable study, causes an aversion to all kind of knowledge, and which their minds may never afterwards shake off, to the injury of themselves and the world. So prevalent is the evil of coercion in the misguided attempt to accelerate the progress of learning, that it may be fairly presumed that mankind, by this means, have lost the valuable efforts of innumerable minds, which, had they at first been encouraged by an easy and agreeable mode and subject of teaching, would have kept ever after in the pursuit and discovery of truth, to the great and universal interest of the world.

Systems of education, however ingenious in theory, are often fallacious in practice. The God of Nature and Revelation has opened to man the true and only way of truth : for man to "know himself" involves the complex relations of all human knowledge and wisdom.

The first and principal defect in education, even before the defects of learning, is the resignation of the affections to the despotism of accidental circumstances. The affections are the elements of religion, and to train up a child in all knowledge, without keeping pace in the affections, is but to lend a splendour to sin.

"As I prefer learning united with virtue to all the treasures of princes, so I look upon the reputation of learning, when separated

from good morals, as merely infamy rendered conspicuous."* Are we not, as a nation, guilty of Eli's sin, and stand convicted before God? We strive (though vainly) to make our children learned and influential, forgetting the first law of nature and the simple element of happiness, "that we should love one another," which alone can truly raise our souls through those natural and coalescent virtues of intelligence and love, to the image of God.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE PROFESSION OF THE EDUCATOR UPON THE NATION.

As the degradation of the office of the educator necessarily complicates the degradation of its officer and his duties, either the advantages of a reformed and national education are questionable and vain, or the existing abuse and neglect of the office and its duties is a reproach against the tyranny, superstition, and ignorance of the whole kingdom. Either the Deity has formed men of dissimilar natures, and raised one above and one below a general and uniform law of nature (exhibiting a contrary scarcely conceivable), or the exclusion of one or *any* rational and fellow beings from the common property of truth, is the worst of tyranny against man, and a blasphemy towards God. But the injustice done to a people in this particular is itself a concomitant of the first great and productive evil—the degraded condition of the office; nor can there be a stronger argument of the abuse than the universal ignorance of its existence. To compare the English nation with itself and with other nations!

The religious diathesis of this kingdom, while it argues a prevalence of religious ordinances, blinds the public eye to the natural and first cause of every evil; at the same time that the spirit of the word is contending against the "huge overshadowing train of error" that vitiates and darkens the soul of a people, a degraded education is augmenting and multiplying error upon error in a far greater and more sure ratio. Thus the friend and advocate of religion is converted into an hereditary foe, and the eastern fable of

* Sir Thomas More, in a *Letter to the Tutor of his Children*.

Ormuz and Ahrimanes is realized as a truth by a christian people in the nineteenth century. The genii of good and evil are eternal antagonists; the temple of the moral Janus is thrown open, never more to close (until a better and wiser education is coalescent with truth), and man thus sacrifices himself to a perpetual warfare. Education, as it exists among the wealthier portion of the nation, is absurd and sinful. The huge collective vice of selfishness prevails throughout society, and effectually disassociates mankind; by the unrestrained contention of private interests community is exchanged for congregation, and every man's hand is against his neighbour. This selfishness of the man is the full-grown habit of the child, and the arts and cruelties and selfishness of the "play-ground" are the same, but with a wider expansion, acting in the world. The professions, spiritual and secular, which involve the compound interests of man, are, by this same original sin, tainted and corrupt even to their centre. The christian minister, whose sacred office calls for an advocate omnipotent in virtue and humility, whose soul from infancy, kept apart from vice and the defilements of sin, has grown up into a voluntary coalescence with the divine spirit, exhibits to the world the exemplar and mirror of Christ, and his conduct, more than his preaching, is eloquent against sin. Can this sublime exaltation of the moral nature be discovered in any minister of religion? Let experience testify: but that they do not attain this christian eminence and moral purity is their misfortune rather than their sin. How many are there who preach (and with a perfect will) the doctrine of universal love, yet exhibit a paradox in practice! how many dwell in admiration upon the virtue of humility, who betray too much of the world's pride! while others, in the continual strife with their besetting, because long habituated vices, sink into a despair of their own salvation. Such are the evil consequences of a corrupt education in childhood. Pure and undefiled religion has no corresponding reality, but is turned from the efficacy of a living example, to the inert service of a dull formality. Selfishness (the sin of the world) predominates over the christian church. "Under a pretence of zeal to God, bigotry violates the sanctuary of conscience, and creates an inquisition in the midst of the church. Erecting its own creed into a standard of universal belief, it would fain call down fire from heaven, or kindle a furnace seven times hotter than an ordinary anger would demand, for all who presume to question its infallibility; thus justifying the world in representing the odium theologicum as a concentration of

all that is fierce, vindictive, and destructive in the human heart.”* The depravity of the “human heart” is the inclination for evil insensibly naturalized in the heart of the child, those impressions of inert sin which grow up with their years into a state of active and baneful maturity. As a good education begins in infancy, so it is settled and perfected in childhood and youth; but is it the rigid discipline of human selfishness (miscalled piety) that will “train up a child in the way he should go?” On the contrary, *good* will be brought into a near and unfavourable comparison with evil, wearing the disguise and aspect of love.

What is taught with severity will be heard with pain, and thus a religion of love assumes an air of severity, begetting in the heart an habitual aversion to its presence; leaving the dissatisfied soul to be attracted by the novelties and delusions of sin. “Great severities do often work an effect quite contrary to that which was intended. And many times those who were bred up in a severe school hate learning ever after, for the sake of the cruelty that was used to force it upon them; and so likewise an endeavour to bring up children to piety and goodness by unreasonable strictness and rigour, does often beget in them a lasting disgust and prejudice against religion, and teaches, as Erasmus says, ‘*Virtutem simul odisse et nosse*,’ to hate virtue at the same time that they teach them to know it. I insist upon this the more, because I do not remember to have observed more notorious instances of great miscarriage than in the children of very strict and severe parents.”†

In contemplating the many and serious evils springing from a degraded and faulty education, hindering the hallowed operation of true religion, and obscuring the light of the church. What shall be said of the wisdom and justice of those of our legislators who are hostile to the general intelligence of the people, who procrastinate the moral amelioration of a nation; not merely indifferent, but actively opposed, to the spiritual and temporal improvement of a kingdom. Without a good and wise education, liberty is license and innovation destructive; without education the stability of law is insecure, and the nation is shook between the tyrannies of the rulers and the people. A good and universal education is so absolutely essential to the happiness and well-being of man, that without it not even the best-ordered and liberal government could long exist as such, but, from a natural expediency, must fall to a level

* *Mammon*, p. 356.

† Tillotson, Sermon 58, p. 500.

with the national degradation. Thus the *remedial* plan is in constant and almost useless operation ; while the judgment hall and the courts of law are the moral pharmacopoliums of a corrupt and sinful people, Equity is merged in law, and law into a puzzle of expediency. Monopoly is the great national characteristic of Great Britain, not only of communities, but of individuals. The poor man labours for and at a monopoly ; the artizan, the mechanic, the shop-keeper, the merchant, the manufacturer, up to the professions, the bar, the senate, and the church, are all and each monopolies. The right of private judgment becomes the irritable and deceptive claim of every monopolist ; and thus private opinion, acting counter to a common consent, so retards reformation and checks inquiry that every new-sprung and accidental evil is prolonged into a habit. From this general and deadened apathy towards national and social abuses, the vocations of life, from the highest to the lowest, get contaminated with all that is vile and debasing to the soul ; dishonesty ascends through its modifying disguises of cunning, art, intrigue, skill, and dexterity, up to the admired virtues of ingenuity and worldly wisdom, to acquire which men aspire with an eagerness that makes trivial all the obstacles of sin. By a misapprehension of all final causes, mankind seem to act upon the principle of converting evil into good, insomuch that truth and charity are become over-rated virtues ; while in their stead the obsequious and pliable law of a conventional propriety is set up. But, knowing this to be the moral disposition of the higher and more affluent classes, how deep must be the moral dejection of the multitude ! with whom corruption grows corrupt, and sin engenders upon itself ; the mass and compaction of every vice. "If there be any among the common objects of hatred I doe contemne and laugh at, it is that great enemy of reason, virtue, and religion, the multitude, that numerous piece of monstrosity, which, taken asunder, seem men and the reasonable creatures of God, but, confused together, make but one great beast, and a monstrosity more prodigious than Hydra."*

Great is the criminality of those rulers, but greater is the guilt of a dominant christian church, in withholding the common blessing of a national education. A verdict has gone forth against them, even from the wisest and holiest of her ministers, whose prescient minds have prophesied of a better and universal education, and a purer faith. The multitude are bereaved of their moral sustenance,

* Religio Medici, p. 127-

creating a dearth and famine that has ended in all the excesses and debaucheries of this spiritual want.

The fashionable-dressed vices of the wealthier population now appear in their naked deformity; ingenuity and worldly wisdom are retroverted into bare-faced robbery and theft in a thousand forms; the polite circumventions of intrigue are turned into violence; and vices which, in the higher grades of society, appeared as comparative virtues, are denounced in the lower classes as crimes against religion and law. The statistical amount of crimes committed in this country is alarmingly greater than in any other nation; while the testimony of travellers exhibits a fearful odds in poverty, suffering, and crime.

If the government will not educate the people, bad circumstances, temptations and evil companions will educate them, for man cannot merely vegetate, either he will learn to do good or evil. In vain is the voice of religion and reason turned to the ear of a people morally deaf, in vain do the humane try to repel the tide of habituated evil; the remedies they propose are suitable but not adequate in power, and while individuals or parties may swell the list of converts, bad and depraved education is moulding and manufacturing a whole generation in the indulgence and practice of every vice. Amid the general bouleversement the rulers and governors of this kingdom are busied in court intrigues and senatorial squabbles; or in their utmost efforts stretch not beyond a municipal corporation bill, or the levying a new impost. Let them be assured, God who is in heaven judges them already, and hereafter will convict them of the sins and crimes of a people to which by their neglect of a good and wise and impartial national education they are accessories.*

* And it is pity that commonly more care is had, yea, and that among very wise men, to find out rather a cunning man for their horse than a cunning man for their children. *They say nay in word, but they do so in deed:* for to one they will gladly give a stipend of two hundred crowns by the year, and loth to offer to the other two hundred shillings. God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to scorn, and rewardeth their liberality as it should; for he suffereth them to have tame and well-ordered horses, but wild and unfortunate children; and therefore, in the end, they find more pleasure in their horse than comfort in their children.—Roger Ascham's *School-master*, p. 206-7.

(To be continued.)

THE MUSICIAN ABOUT TOWN.

THE Italian Opera has advanced into the fourth month of its season without one single dramatic novelty having been presented to the subscribers. They have been led to expect the production of Rossini's "Guillaume Tell," but the reality is still in remote perspective. The "Lucrezia Borgia" of Donizetti is actually announced for Grisi's benefit; but up to the present date (June 1st) it has been postponed. Mr. Laporte is a man of golden promise, but of leaden fulfilment—a line of conduct which we verily believe accords with the predilections of his aristocratic supporters; for Mr. Laporte is "wise in his generation." He knows that they doat upon being humbugged, because it is genteel, unmercantile. None but contractors and stock-jobbers, and such vulgar bores, insist upon the letter of their bond. How are the classes to be distinguished, but by opposite courses of conduct? The wily manager, therefore, makes florid protestations, and they trust he will be deliberate, and do nothing in a vulgar heat. He promises a world of novelty, and they murmur to him, in the Mandane strain,

"Forbear to fan the gentle flame,
Oh! let us be *deceived*!"

The appearance of Madlle. Pauline Garcia, younger sister of the eminent Malibran, has been to us, as well as to the discriminating portion of the musical public, a novelty of more than ordinary interest. She made her debut on the 9th of May, in the character of Desdemona, and would assuredly have produced a very lively sensation had not the public expectancy been over-excited by a preparatory running fire of mischievous puffs. We were advertised that we should hear a finer singer than her sister, and we found a timid, sensitive girl, between seventeen and eighteen years of age, with a voice (of course) not fully developed, but of rare and glorious pretension. It is of the same noble and weighty quality as her sister's, and, we conjecture, of the same surprising compass. In a musician-like composition, written for her by Costa, and introduced upon this occasion, she dwelt fully and firmly (if our memory be correct) upon *F* below the line and the *c* in alt. Speaking from remote recollection of her sister, and with the immediate impression of Pauline's tones upon our mind, we should say that her voice is more equal

throughout than that of Malibran ; and in actual accomplishment she decidedly and greatly surpasses her *at the same age*. All this, in itself, is gratifying enough ; but for the confirmation of her being naturally a musical genius, we should rest upon the simple circumstance that we found ourselves perpetually recurring to her cordial tones, her spontaneous and unartificial expression, her noble, unmechanical delivery of her passages, and her sensible manner altogether. In short, if she realize the expectation of all the judges who have only partially witnessed her capabilities, she will at no distant period develop into a consummate artist.

Madlle. Pauline's second attempt in a new character, which was that of "*La Cenerentola*," on the 15th of June, thoroughly confirmed the estimate we had previously made of her talent, both natural and cultivated. Her embodying of the character we could scarcely pronounce to be the result of a lesson taught, studied, and learnt, though, at her age, such was doubtless the case to a certain extent ; for there were indescribable minutiae in manner, carriage, and general tone, which evinced the young actress of sound sense and developing genius ; while the quality of certain notes in either extremity of her compass, together with the runs of double octaves, which formed so dignified a feature in her sister's style, revived regretful thoughts of that eminent creature. In the former part of the character she was the injured, subdued outcast of her family ; and in the latter, the self-asserting, yet generous heroine of conscious rectitude and good fortune ; and each feature of the character was depicted without harshness of line, or ostentation of display. Her singing throughout was singularly fine for so young an artist ; the clever canone in the second act was encored, chiefly on account of the judicious manner in which she sustained her part in it ; and, indeed, we could not avoid drawing a comparison in this very movement between the beautifully subdued and genuine concerted singing of this girl of seventeen, and the uneasy display of Tamburini, whose "shivering, bob" notes, eternal roulades without meaning, and ONE cadence, denote the artist of undue success attributable to the strength of a fine vocal organ, rather than to slender accomplishments and still slenderer genius. The finale to "*La Cenerentola*," ("*Non piu mesta*") we have, of course, heard executed with greater force and executive finish, but never with more natural feeling and expression. Unlike almost all other singers, too, who stick themselves by the lamps, and give the audience to understand that they are about to present them with a notable piece of work, Madlle. Pauline every now and then addressed herself with an affectionate

gratitude to the prince, her lover, who had appreciated her character, and given the most signal proof in his power that he had done so.

On the 6th of June the "Lucretia Borgia" of Donizetti was performed, introducing to the subscribers the new tenor, Sig. Mario (his first appearance in public, here, was at the Philharmonic on the previous Monday, the 3rd). Dr. Johnson refused to accompany Mrs. Thrale in a ride to the country, saying "Madam, I hate green fields; when you have seen one green field you have seen every green field." Had the Doctor been invited to a modern Italian opera, and parodied this anomalous repugnance to green fields, his criticism would have been accurate, and his taste judicious; for of a truth, when you have heard one Italian opera of the last ten or twelve years' mint, you have heard every opera. The same character of melody constantly recurs; the same phrases, the same progressions, the same cadences. Donizetti's chief merit appears to us to lie in writing a simple and plaintive cavatina, of which we have some really pretty and graceful specimens; his instrumental accompaniments, also, are nicely and skilfully appointed. There are two of this class in the "Lucretia," one of which (if our recollection serve upon a single hearing) was transferred from the opera of "Il Furioso." These, and an agreeable trio, form the chief merits of the opera of "Lucretia Borgia." Indeed, to speak without prejudice (for we desire only refinement, *variety*, and food for thought) the whole of this opera is a "semper eadem" from beginning to end—nay, we might more justly say "semper pejorem," for each new production seems to get worse and worse as good composition is declining in Italy.* Let the vocal supply in Italy fail, and in what limbo would be registered the modern Italian opera?

Sig. Mario's voice is a high tenor, of sweet quality in the upper part of its compass; not very flexible: for this, however, we care little, for the rage for flexibility has sacrificed all just and grand expression. It is rather "*plummy*" in the middle and lower divisions, but is correctly in tune when not over-exerted. Its general character may be recognised when we designate it a plaintive or

* The following is the opinion of the *Morning Post* upon this opera, which, if not so intelligible as could be wished, is nevertheless amusing. "Some of our contemporary critics have rather overshadowed with their displeasure Donizetti's *Lucretia*. The deficiencies we see in it are a more CASTIGATO subject, and a few melodies wrought in relief upon the concerted pieces, such as satisfy the sybarite who likes to cull pleasure without effort of attention, as well as the dilettanti who live in the innermost penetralia of the mysteries of the musical fane." Fine writing, like "fair play, is a jewel."

grieving voice ; and therefore we should say that, although physically unequal to the high-flying, principal parts in the *great* style, he will always be estimable in those of the gently pathetic class.

An illustration of the first paragraph in the present article occurred on the night of Sig. Mario's debut ; showing the contemptuous insolence with which the frequenters of this theatre are treated by Mr. Laporte, who, throughout his management appears to have an equal scorn of that principle in moral geometry, that " the shortest distance between two given points is by a *direct* line." The bills of performance announced that between the first and second acts Madlle. Taglioni would dance a Polish dance, and after the second act a Russian dance, which would be succeeded by the ballet of " La Gitana." We had nothing but the ballet. No murmur—no apology. The plebs in the pit and gallery were inert, and the " genteels" were delighted—they were " deceived"—the distinction was accurately preserved between their house and that low-lived hole, Covent Garden, where the manager's word would have been disgustingly fulfilled to the last letter.

Covent Garden Theatre has again been the scene of a signal failure in the production of a new opera, adding one more confirmation of the desideratum we have so frequently insisted upon, viz. that in order to ensure success for an English opera, with an English audience, the drama itself must possess some interest in its plot, and some common sense and grammatical construction in its dialogue. What the character of an Italian *libretto* may be, is of little consequence ; it may triumph in absurdity, it may revel in dulness and balderdash ; the audience care nothing about the story, they require two or three arias, two or three duets, and a tantara-ra-rara of a finale to each act. If the piece contain one or two melodies of a popular character, it will prove *the* successful opera of the season. But the case is different at our national theatres. There the audience look for something like dramatic incident, with respectability (at all events) of diction. In both these important requisites, the machinery of Mr. Rooke's opera of " Henrique, or the Love Pilgrim," was deplorably deficient. The plot was so ingeniously involved as to defy all attempts at a solution of it : and the dialogue and versification so vapid as to demand some mastery over the faculties to knit them to the duty of attention. The consequence of all this was, that " Henrique" was performed for the first time on the 29th of April, and the last time on the 9th of May. It struggled through four or five nights, and then faded into the cold regions of oblivion. Mr. Rooke is in no other respect answerable for

the fatal issue of his opera than in a want of judgment in accepting such a piece as a vehicle for his music, which, if not of so popular a class as that in the "*Amelie*," contained nevertheless several movements distinguished by elegance and professor-like counterpoint. His melodies are uniformly graceful, and instrumented with the most accurate judgment of their distinctive characters. His accompaniments are never encumbered ; and as he rarely employs the full orchestra but upon important occasions, the effect, by contrast, is considerably heightened, while the senses are agreeably relieved from that jaded feeling too often the result of sitting through a majority of the modern operas, wherein the whole band are kept upon active duty, as if the score were both written and played by contract—the largest supply of material for the least remuneration. The fate of Mr. Rooke's opera is sincerely to be regretted, both on his own account (for we believe the copyright remains unsold) and on that of the musical public ; who, with even a commonplace incident and rational dialogue, would have carried the piece through triumphantly to the end of the season. As it was, the effect was almost as wearying (and this is saying much) as a stale jest-book.

With the new opera, the public were introduced to a new tenor, Mr. Harrison, a pupil of the Royal Academy, and latterly, as we have heard, of Mr. Rooke. The quality of Mr. Harrison's tone is of the average character, with perhaps more than the average power ; but we cannot compliment either the singer or his tutors upon any accession being made in his person to the English vocal school. He is deficient in elevation of style, and, we should say, generally in intelligence of the art ; in other words, he is commonplace and mechanical. The singer who pleased us most upon this occasion was Mr. Manvers. Appointed to an inferior station in the opera, he nevertheless had the good sense to study his music with additional care ; and the consequence was, that no song received greater applause than one of a martial character allotted to him, and which he delivered with an energy and effect that none of his previous attempts had at all demonstrated, or led his hearers to anticipate.

Mr. Macready is said to have lost £600. by the failure of "*Henrique* ;" and the truth of the report is probable, since it was produced at great cost of theatrical property, with expensive engagements. The wonder is, that with his experience in dramatic writing, he should have accepted such a piece ; but if, as we have also heard, that he had advanced money to the composer before he had seen what he was to receive, he has paid the forfeit of his generous

indiscretion, and furnished a lesson to other managers not to trust the egotism or cupidity of composers, who appear to cling to the notion (in defiance of every year's experience) that any thing will serve to hang music upon—like a clothes-horse, or dummy, for displaying a fashionable ready-made coat.

After the failure of "*Farinelli*" at Drury Lane, and when the zoological curiosity of the public was satiated, the lessee made an experiment of giving shilling concerts, where strange vagaries were enacted both by performers and audience. As, however, Mr. Bunn did not include in the admission money a glass of rum and water and a segar for the purchaser of a ticket, he had no chance with the landlord of the Eagle Tavern, and was in consequence obliged to shut up his house. Since which event Miss Romer and Mr. Balfé have been sharing with the manager of the Surrey Theatre—and very successfully; for in one week we know, from the best authority, that the lady's profits amounted to more than £70. Before this number goes to press Mr. Braham will probably have joined the company, for he is announced as being engaged.

The Philharmonic Concerts, notwithstanding the unreasonableness of some of the subscribers, excited by the interested antipathy of a writer or two, whose services are no longer needed by the society, have gone on increasing in attraction to the close of the season. The directors have had difficulties and perplexities to encounter, which have made their task to provide a succession of novelty for the subscribers a most laborious one. They have been disappointed of a new symphony by Spohr; also of one by Schubert (the recommendation of Mendelssohn), which those *snail-waggon* Germans will have ready for performance about a fortnight after the season has closed. They have received two or three overtures strongly recommended to them, but which, upon trial, they could not bring forward. They would have engaged Duprez for four concerts, had his terms been a *little* more moderate than £500. *per night*. They could not engage Laporte's company; and had they been able to do so, the subscribers would have complained of the music those people would insist upon singing. When we had the Italians at the Philharmonic, it was the eternal cry, "Why do you not give us better music?" and when our native artists selected the most classical compositions, the subscribers groaned after "the flesh-pots of *Italy*!" The directors have done their best, and they have done well. Every singer, not within the influence of the opera manager, has been engaged; no instrumentalist of acknowledged reputation has visited us without having the means afforded him of dis-

playing his talent; and the programme of each evening has been as judiciously selected as we believe the circumstances would admit. Where large resources are afforded, and no advantage is taken of them, we should be the foremost to stigmatize the neglect; where these are cramped, and unlooked-for obstacles supervene, it is foolish as well as unjust to vituperate: but injustice and folly commonly go hand in hand.

At the second of these concerts the novelties of the evening were, a concerto pastorale" by Mr. Moscheles; and the first appearance in this country of Herr David, of Leipsic, a distinguished violinist. The composition of Mr. Moscheles was pronounced by some of his hearers to be clever, although eccentric, with too strong a leaning to the conceited "Romantique school" of the French. Clever it undoubtedly is, for it contains striking effects, thoughtful writing, and masterly orchestral combination. If it be "eccentric," it is not necessarily "Romantique," seeing that it is not destitute of rationality or design. In their imaginative literature as well as in their music "young France" is meretriciously mad: no vagary is rejected that will induce observation—no principle worthless which makes its followers conspicuous. May the day be still remote that the countrymen of JOHN MILTON "shall need the Monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshows."*

Herr David is a pupil of Spohr, and brother to Mad. Dulcken. His tone is strong, firm, and pure; his cantabile eloquent, his intonation exact, and his bowing grand and masterly. To all which excellent qualities may be added that he is a faultless timist. What with his manual accomplishment, and the composition he played, both of which stamp him a worthy disciple of so eminent a master, Herr David will leave behind him an honourable reputation when he quits our shores.

The fourth concert introduced to us a M.S. overture by Sterndale Bennett ("The Wood Nymphs"), an early composition, and indicating the future great musician: for although, with the prodigality incident to youth, the subject was too much attenuated, and the intention not sufficiently marked, yet the orchestral treatment and effects were masterly. Mr. Bennett, we understand, was not eighteen when he wrote this overture.

* *Tractate on Education.*

A Madlle. De Riviere, a vocalist of the French school, also made her first appearance upon this occasion. She possesses a clear, bell-like tone, and (speaking from recollection) a correct ear; but her delivery, and manner altogether, were unfeelingly mechanical and correct.

At this concert Herr David confirmed the opinion we entertained of his talent upon the previous evening. He sustained in a masterly manner the first violin in the fine ottetto of Spohr; the slow movement to which is one of the most lovely melodies, and most beautifully treated that ever came from the pen of the composer; and the finale to it, perhaps, one of his most original. An introduction and Russian air varied, performed by Herr David in the second act, although bearing throughout the impress of a good musician, was nevertheless inferior in point of merit to his first composition. The constant repetition of these "airs variés" may possibly dispose us to contemplate them with a half indifference.

At the fifth concert young Bennett played his piano forte concerto in F minor; a work upon which we have heretofore dwelt with considerable satisfaction. This was its first performance at the Philharmonic. In the second act we were introduced to a young violoncellist, Mons. Batta, a Belgian of high reputation on the continent. For strength and richness of tone we have, and we know no higher standard than those of Mr. Lindley. None of the solo players from abroad, that we have heard of late years, are able to compete with our countryman upon this point; and the reason appears to be, that since the object in modern violoncello playing is to sacrifice body and quality of tone to execution, this is accomplished by using strings of less diameter; for it would be miraculous that any player should execute the same passages we heard from Mons. Batta's instrument with Lindley's bow and strings. The result, therefore, is, that we have a thin tone, too nearly approaching to that of a viola, with extraordinary execution: and upon this point, with the mastery of his bowing, we accord to Mons. Batta unqualified applause. They who are contented with what Lindley can accomplish upon his instrument (and it cannot be denied that it is sufficient for every purpose short of *extravagant* execution), will compound for legerdemain, that they may possess the rich and *legitimate* tone of the violoncello.

A Madlle. Lewig, pupil of the late Ferdinand Ries, performed a concerto of her master's at the sixth concert. The young lady is a showy player, but an indifferent timist. Having already had a

was no judicious friend, who, having heard what she could do, recommended her being engaged.

Herr Hauman, a disciple (and worthy one) in the Paganini school, played in the second act. With a pardonable foppery, the pupils of Rubens used to imitate the dress of their master, and fashion of his beard. The general air and manner of M. Hauman is precisely that of *his* great prototype; he however possesses qualities in his art which redeem the less creditable condescension of becoming a mimic, where there is abundance of real talent to establish a fame for himself. M. Hauman has an absolute command of his instrument. His manner of covering the finger-board is very like Paganini; and (like Paganini) he appears to be prepared by nature for reaching great distances with but little shifting of the hand. He therefore darts with admirable certainty from the lowest notes of his violin to the "ultima thule" of its compass upwards. His bowing is masterly and grand; and his performance of double stops, and staccato passages quite extraordinary. In the last movement of his concerto he introduced a variation in staccato, which we believe no one but Paganini could play like him:—in short, after the eminent Italian, he is the greatest accomplisher of difficulties that we have heard.

A rival to him of the French school, a Mons. Artot, performed a fantasia at the seventh concert. With too great a display of what our neighbours denominate "intense feeling and expression," so that the whole of his adagio movement was a succession of slides and tremors, with scarce a firmly held note, Mons. Artot is nevertheless a very refined and accomplished artist. The concluding variation to *his* fantasia was also one of excessive difficulty, and he executed it with exquisite neatness and certainty.

At this and the previous concert the public first heard the new singer, Mad. Dorus Gras. As this is distinctly the *mechanical* era in music, and that it has attained to a degree of florid perfection which all but completes the circle, we may hope for an early change of fashion and manner; and, indeed, it is to be confidently expected when we consider how soon every novelty in Paris is "*deja vieux*," and how prone the genteel million here are to adopt every suggestion that is French. Mad. Dorus is perhaps the most expert, the most accomplished, executer of solfeggi passages now living. Her distances are taken with unerring certainty, her divisions are run with the quickness and volubility (though not with the melting quality) of the nightingale; her chromatic passages, *up* as well as

down the scale (and the difference in respect of difficulty every artist knows) are singularly accurate. Here, however, our admiration of the singer ceases. Her quality of voice is hard, loud, and unfeeling; for we do not call the sudden suppression of tone, and the yearning forward of the head, a genuine display of feeling and expression. Loudness and softness are, in themselves, no indication of feeling—it is in the *tone*, which goes at once to “Love’s throne,” and can no more be described than the “fleeting air.” Moreover, Mad. Dorus sings exquisite stuff; and this of itself argues little for her musical feeling. At her first appearance she sang a solo from the “Cheval de Bronze,” about the “torment of widowhood,” wherein the music and the words are worthy of each other; and the latter are an epitome of the execrable French morality. The composition, however, contains some very difficult solfeggi passages, and these she undoubtedly executed to the admiration of all who estimate a surprising dexterity.

The selections at the “Ancient Concerts” this season have manifested a decided improvement. Many unworthily neglected compositions of the old masters have been reproduced, to the satisfaction, as we hear, of all the lovers of sterling ancient music. Much of the merit for these restorations is said to be awarded to the superintending zeal and good taste of Lord Burghersh.

The activity of the directors of the “Società Armonica,” in engaging the most eminent foreign artists, who, with the Swallows, take advantage of our summer season; together with their zealous endeavours to promote the cause of classical music, entitle them to good report; and, as a consequence of it, have secured them, as we are informed, a full subscription.

The last performance at Exeter Hall, which took place on the 7th of June, consisted of the “Dettingen te Deum,” a short miscellaneous selection, and Haydn’s First Mass. It was to us an evening of almost unalloyed extacy. The last work has probably never before been performed by so large an orchestra; and, taken altogether, most probably never with finer precision. The effect of the choruses was transcendently fine, especially of the magnificent fugue at the end of the “Gloria.” The trebles and basses are the best of this vocal orchestra; the altos are rather shrieky, and the tenors apt to be out of tune. Altogether, however, we have no musical entertainment like these performances, and certainly none so calculated to refine and confirm the national taste for the grandest and most perfect of all composition—that of the stupendous choral fugue.

The solo singers upon the present occasion were, Miss Wyndham, Miss Cawthorn, Messrs. Bennett, Young, and H. Phillips. The soli movements in the mass were not equally satisfactory ; and with truth, although with regret we say it, they were injured by the intractable violence of the second lady just named. So overpowering were her tones, that the several movements were solos for Miss Cawthorn, accompanied by the other singers.

We witnessed with pleasure the fulfilling of one suggestion in our last report of this society, by the engagement of Sig. Dragonetti. This circumstance induces us to hope that the committee will not lose sight of another thrown out about a year ago, viz. that in their miscellaneous performances they will introduce some of our national choral anthems ; above all, for an audience like that at Exeter Hall, where *effect* naturally makes the strongest appeal, that famous anthem of Dr. Blow, "I was in the spirit." Phillips's fine declamatory style will tell admirably in the solos, and these responded by the "Hallelujahs" (piano and pianissimo), of the heavenly host, can scarcely fail to produce a strong impression upon the audience. The present article will have gone to press before the next revival will have taken place, which will be the oratorio of "Joshua."

The benefit concerts have been very numerous, but, we hear, not equally remunerating this season. The most interesting that we attended were, Sig. Benedict's, on account of his rich assemblage of vocal talent, for he was assisted by almost every artist of repute, foreign and native, in the country ; and Mr. Cipriani Potter's, which, for the instrumental division of his programme, was precisely the concert which should be given by the principal of the Royal Academy. This consisted of his own excellent symphony in *B* flat, and the Pastoral Symphony of Beethoven. Mr. Potter himself performed Mendelssohn's second pianoforte concerto ; a Prelude and Fugue of Sebastian Bach with Dragonetti, who played the pedale part ; and some very clever Bravura variations from a theme in his own dramatic composition of "Coradino." Herr David also performed a solo ; and the overture to "Der Freischütz" closed the concert. Mr. Potter, we think, never played in a more masterly manner than upon the present occasion, the more surprising from his having added to his fatigue and anxiety the arduous duty of conducting a three hours' performance.

We notice, by a paragraph in one of the Worcester papers, that the directors of the approaching festival have handsomely considered the suggestion we threw out at the close of the last festival season, with regard to the erection of seats at such prices as to enable the

humbler citizens and tradespeople to partake of the performances. We have little doubt that the committee will, on every account, congratulate the result of their extended plan of accommodation. Miss Clara Novello is engaged to make her first public appearance upon her return to England at the Worcester Festival, which will commence on the 10th of September.

THE MUSICIAN OUT OF TOWN.

THE following is a brief report of the late Düsseldorf Festival, and which we happily were enabled to attend. Mendelssohn was conductor, and the first morning's performance (19th of May) consisted of the "Messiah," the first time for twenty years since it has been given at any of the Rhine festivals. The chorusses, taken altogether, were very good, especially the trebles and basses. The effect of *female* voices in the *altos* is not so powerful and piercing as when that part is taken by men, but it is more agreeable. The band, generally speaking, wanted unity; but this is to be accounted for by its being formed of amateurs as well as professors, who all assemble from adjacent districts.

We have heretofore spoken of Mendelssohn as a conductor. His exertions upon the present occasion were gigantic. At the rehearsal his unwearied patience, his vast orchestral knowledge, his playful, yet firm and persuasive manners, were all conspicuous. He harangued the band with admirable tact and humour, making them shout with laughter and applause. On one occasion he told them, in some piano passage, that doubtless each was anxious to hear his own individual voice or instrument, and he was prepared to acknowledge that it was very fine; but that if they would each endeavour to listen to their neighbours' beautiful execution, they would proportionately soften their own, and this would produce exactly the *piano* effect he wanted in that particular passage. Upon another occasion he requested some ambitious performer to alter his style, which too closely resembled the tone of a cat scratching a silk gown. Another time, with an amiable playfulness, he said, "Gentlemen, am I never to hear that passage again as charmingly done as you did it yesterday?" and in this way he lightened the toil of a strenuous rehearsal. He must have been gratified with the honours he received, although, like all true geniuses, he is so modest as rather to shrink from applause. On

the second evening, a bouquet of choice flowers was placed between the leaves of his score on his desk.

The principal singers were—*sopranos*, Miss Clara Novello, and Madlle. Fassman, from the opera at Berlin; *alto*, Madlle. Schloss, from Cologne; *tenor*, Herr Schmidt, from Leipsig, who undertook the songs at a very short notice, in consequence of Herr Schmetzer, from Brunswick (who was engaged as *tenor*) being prevented from attending by his other engagements; and the *bass*, Herr Hinze, from Düsseldorf.

The chorus was chiefly composed of amateurs; and it was pleasant to recognise amidst them some of the most celebrated painters of Germany, among others, Hildebrandt, Schirmer, &c. Every rehearsal, which was crowded, may be said to have been a rehearsal to both audience and performers, since it enabled them to become acquainted with this grand music, and which requires thoroughly knowing to appreciate; and, from not having been performed for so many years, it must have been quite new to a large proportion of the hearers.

The opening recitative, "Comfort ye," was but an indifferent performance in our judgment, who had so vivid a recollection of Braham in the same piece. The bass singer, also, was somewhat out of tune in "But who may abide," but he afterwards improved. "He shall purify," "For unto us," and "His yoke is easy," were sung as both *quartett* and chorus; and not so those which are always taken in that manner in England—"Their sound is gone out," and "Lift up your heads." We do not, however, like the effect so well, especially in the "For unto us," where its majesty of character is totally destroyed. The alto was rather tame in "O thou that tellest," and the bass recitative and air, "The people that walked in darkness," was taken a thought too fast. "There were shepherds" was charmingly sung; as also "Rejoice greatly," which in Germany is usually taken by the tenor: but the triumph of Miss Clara Novello's singing was the "I know that my Redeemer," and which was so great a favourite at the court of Berlin that, whatever may have been performed in the course of the evening, the crown prince always demanded that air of the singer. "He shall feed" is performed in four alternate passages, and not two, as in England. We do not like the effect of it. Madlle. Schloss's best song was "He was despised," but her style is unfinished. Madlle. Fassmann sang "Behold and see," and "Thou didst not leave." This is the artist so celebrated for her performance in Gluck's operas. She was engaged from Berlin

expressly for the Düsseldorf Festival, and was to have had the "Alceste" got up on the third day for her; but, owing to the non-arrival of the music, the plan was relinquished, much to our regret, as we would fain have heard this singer in her own peculiar style. She is a remarkably fine woman, with delicate features, and a profusion of hair, which she wears in long curls dropping down her cheeks.

The choruses best performed were, "Worthy is the Lamb," the "Hallelujah," and "All we like sheep;" but, partiality out of the question, the vocal band were not equal to that at Exeter Hall for union, energy, and precision.

Second Performance.—Evening. The Symphonia Eroica of Beethoven opened the concert. In the first movement the violoncellos were not sufficiently powerful. There was a want of finish in the sudden pianos; and the passages of delicacy were deficient in brilliancy. Moreover, the violins wanted clearness; and the slow movement was deficient in smoothness and *singing* in the instruments. The minuet went remarkably well; but the passage for wind instruments in the trio as badly as that passage almost uniformly does. The finale, which was lamentably indistinct, was the worst executed of all the movements.

Beethoven's mass in c, which succeeded, was nicely performed; the choruses stole in with a delightful piano in the "Kyrie;" but it is needless to say that Herr Julius Rietz, who was conductor upon this occasion, is not a Mendelssohn. As a composer too, he is not to our taste: an overture of his, which came after the Beethoven's mass was tremendously noisy, with running passages for the brass instruments. The subject of the second movement, the allegro, was an imitation of Spohr. Then came Mendelssohn's glorious psalm "As pants the hart," excellently performed as regards the choruses; but this school of music is so totally out of Fassman's style, that in our opinion she completely spoiled it. It was on the third evening that we heard this celebrated singer to advantage. The first notes she uttered of Mozart's fine duet, "Fuggi crudele," showed us at once that the *dramatic*, and not the *sacred*, is her forte. She afterwards sang a recitative and air from Gluck's "Iphigenia," which is considered as her greatest effort; and undoubtedly she delivers it with effective dignity; and had she a better quality of voice, which is somewhat reedy, and wholly without flexibility, she would have rendered complete justice to this admirable composition.

Upon this occasion too, Clara Novello's varied powers were more fully developed to the people of Düsseldorf; as at the same concert

she sang Haydn's "With verdure"—all purity and poetical description; Bellini's "Casta Diva"—full of noble self-assertion, indignant remonstrance, and fluctuating passion; and the national airs of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" (this song was given at the desire of Prince Frederick of Prussia, who honoured the festival with his presence) and "God save the Queen;" which last, when vehemently encored, she sang in German.

We had the delight of hearing Mendelssohn play his celebrated concerto in D minor—the one which he composed for the Birmingham festival in 1837; and it is with no disparagement to the three eminent professors whom we have heard play this piece in England, viz: Mrs. Anderson, Mad. Dulcken, and Mr. Moscheles, when we say, that it is only its composer who can render it full justice. His touch is quite perfect: the utmost delicacy and polish are combined with an equal vigour, clearness, and precision.

On the Tuesday and Wednesday there were races given, at which the Prince Frederick, the Prince of Strelitz, and the whole of the court were present. On the latter day the Prince gave a dinner to the whole of the artists who had contributed so much to the public gratification; and in the evening there was a ball prepared in the concert room for the towns people, at which the royal party appeared for a short time.

The orchestra upon this occasion consisted of 126 sopranos; 62 altos; 106 tenors; 134 basses, making 428 voices. The instrumentalists were, 67 violins; 22 violas; 22 violoncellos; 12 double basses; 6 flutes; 4 oboes; 4 clarinets; 4 bassoons; 1 ophicleide; 4 horns; 4 trumpets; 1 bass trumpet, and 4 trombones: 155 instruments, which, with the 2 conductors, and chorus masters comprised an orchestra of 586 performers.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF FRENCH LITERATURE.

V.—ON THE LOVE-SONGS OF THE TROUBADOURS.

“ He saide hee loved, and was beloved nothing ;
Of swich matere, made hee many layes,
Songes, complaintes, roundels, virelayes ;
How that he durst not his sorwe telle,
But languisheth as dothe a furie in helle ;
And die he must, he said, as did Ecco
For Narcissus, that durst not tell here woe.”

CHAUCER, *Frankelaines Tale*.

VARIED as are the productions of the Provençal bards, the most exalted and conspicuous station in their poësy must undoubtedly be assigned to their love songs. The influence of woman, which, under their Roman conquerors, they had slighted and disowned, was now, under their Gothic rulers, acknowledged in its most despotic shape. Love, as an idol, reigned supreme, and before his shrine were freely lavished those feelings of reverence and of veneration which ought to be excited only by the contemplation of an Heavenly One. Despite, however, this impassioned and ill-directed fervour, despite the laxity of morals which so peculiarly distinguished the age, it must be allowed that these outpourings of uncultivated genius were of unquestionable utility in an age of darkness and of oppression, when the superior trampled with despotic violence on the inferior, when feudalism was dominant, and when a long-continued system of servitude had degraded and brutalized mankind. The joyous strains of the Troubadours naturally elicited corresponding feelings of tenderness and love, and thus, arousing man's mental faculties from the degrading lethargy in which they had so long and so inertly slumbered, awakened him to a sense of his innate might, inspired him with new wants and new affections, evinced the value of social enjoyments and relations, and finally, by leading him from the dark and lowering aspect of the present, to the bright and airy vistas of the future, demonstrated the benefits of mental refinement and cultivation.

The love poems of the Provençals, though they present a profusion, possess but little real sentiment. It has also, with some show of justice, been objected to these compositions, that they are replete with the same ideas, that the same images and the same metaphors

are continually recurring, and that the poetry, which of all others should be the most glowing and impassioned, is, with few exceptions, the most insipid and the most heartless. This objection, however, must be not a little qualified, when we reflect that it must apply to all poetry of sentiment: without any incidents to keep the attention from flagging, this class of poetry is to be enjoyed only when the mind is in a fit mood, and then only by morsels. If perused in this manner, few will deny that in many, at least, of the Provençal love songs, the tenderness and purity of passion are exquisitely described; while in others the gracefulness of the style, combined with the regular return of the metre, present a charm which, though fully sensible of its influence, we find it difficult to account for.

In history in general, but more particularly in that of literature, there are few more important errors committed than by the inconsiderate use of general theories and views; their great misfortune being, that what may be true of literature, or history as a whole, is frequently totally false as to some of the parts of which it is composed. This false criticism is nowhere more plainly seen than in the branch of Provençal literature which we are now discussing, in the consideration of which there are two opposing parties, the one headed by the Schlegels, Raynouard, and the French critics; the other led by Dunlop, Hallam,* and the generality of our English writers. The opinions of both parties are generally expressed without any limitations, the first affirming that the amatory productions of the Troubadours are exquisitely graceful, and tender, and fervid, and beauteous; the second fulminating their anathemas, and decrying them as incongruous, insipid, valueless, and obscene. Both parties are *partially* correct; for it must be confessed that in many of these poems the boundary of devotional propriety is wantonly overstepped, the language of passion too frequently degenerates into the ungovernable ebullitions of lust, and the praises of true chivalry and honour give place to those of inconstancy and libertinism. These effusions it is which render so revolting, so monotonous, and so in-

* See Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, vol. ii., p. 184; he there says that the compositions of the Provençals "contain violent satires against the clergy, absurd didactic poems, moral songs versified from Boethius, and insipid pastorals." Hallam, also, (vol. iii., p. 541, 8vo. edit.) speaking of these bards, says, "These were the celebrated Troubadours whose fame depends far less on their positive excellence than on the darkness of the preceding ages, on the temporary sensation they excited, and on their permanent influence on the state of European poetry."

insipid, the poetry of the Provençals ; and happy had it been for that poetry if this portion at least had been lost in the wreck of ages ; the remaining fragments would, like the sacred leaves of the Sybil, have increased in value by diminution in number, and Posterity would gladly have received from Time the gift, two-thirds of which he had consigned to a well-merited Oblivion.

If, however, we peruse these productions with a more attentive and less jealous eye, we cannot deny to some few at least the honourable meed of a well-deserved praise. Some of their fugitive pieces are perfect in their kind, and possess a sensibility altogether intellectual, and a passion as fervent as it is pure. Some of their most pleasing productions are those where we find the sturdy warrior, the knight that mocks at steel and thirsts for danger, sinking before the eye of beauty into the gentle, tender, and submissive lover. These productions breathe a strange combination of amorous and chivalrous feelings ; the inborn sympathies of the heart are seldom extinguished : and from the scenes of slaughter and desolation the knight gladly turned to the eye of compassion, and with a heart untainted with bloodshed chaunts alike the loveliness of his mistress and the prowess of his arm.

Exquisite, however, as are some of these amatory productions, it must be confessed that love, as a passion, is too generally misconceived, and addresses itself rather to the head than to the hearts of its hearers. The passion which inspired the Troubadour was essentially artificial, and emanated more frequently from the advantages of present convenience than from any actual passion. This artificial tendency arose, in part at least, from the spirit of chivalry itself—a spirit which, at first sight, would seem to authorise a very opposite conclusion. Chivalry, though it extended the *apparent*, curtailed the *real*, influence of love ; for by erecting it into a regular system, it degenerated from a generous impulse into a frivolous passion, till at length the knight selected a mistress not from any principle of love, not from any glowings of enthusiasm, but as a proper and indispensable appendage to his knighthood ; an object of devotion, to whom he might dedicate his effusions, and desecrate the name of love by giving it to the heartless connection. Chivalry gave scope to many virtues, but it often fostered gigantic vices and sheltered innumerable crimes ; and though we may believe that the days of its dominion were as we wish them to have been, though we may fancy that all the ladies were lovely and chaste, and all the knights gentle and brave, we cannot but know that thoughts like these are but the day-dreams of the mind, and that

though the splendour of feudal pomp and magnificence may tend to gloss, they never can hide its real deformity. Wretched in its general jurisprudence, it is nowhere seen to greater disadvantage than in its misconception of love ; the tender passion was laid aside for heartlessness, or used only for intrigue and grossness and immorality.

Though many, however, of the Troubadours were thus insensible to the tender passion, it cannot be denied that others, again, were equally susceptible. Thus, Guillaume de la Tour could not survive his mistress ;* Guillaume d'Adhemar died for love ; and Pierre Rogiers and Richard Barbesieux† turned hermits. Pierre Vidal, however, stands deservedly in the first rank for genius, extravagance, and absurdity. In harmony of metre and in elegance of expression this poet far excelled all his contemporaries ; his talents, however, were alloyed with a most unfortunate propensity to fall in love with every fair dame whom he saw ; and whom his inordinate vanity led him to believe loved him in return. His indiscreet boasting caused one indignant husband to pierce his tongue with a hot iron. This, however, had no effect in cooling his passion ; for very shortly afterwards he succeeded in stealing a kiss from Adalasia, the wife of his patron, Barral de Baux ; for this dire offence the amorous knight was obliged to flee to Geneva, whence he proceeded, as a crusader, to the Holy Land. Here he again fell in love with a plebeian Grecian woman, who was palmed upon him by the nobles as the niece of the Emperor of the East. Overjoyed at his lucky marriage, he immediately assumed the imperial title, had a throne erected, and was only deterred from further folly by the exhaustion of his finances. His enemy Barral being now dead, Vidal returned to Europe, and, renouncing his attachment to Adalasia, was attracted by the charms of *Louve* de Genautier. In honour of this fair lady he suffered himself to be called *Loup* ; and, by way of still

* Millot, *Hist. Lit.*, &c., tom. i., p. 147.

† This poet was enamoured of the fair daughter of Geoffroi Rudelle ; but having cause to doubt the fidelity of his mistress, he secluded himself for the space of two years—

“Miels de domna que fugit ai dos ans.”

He then returned to his mistress, but having still cause for dissatisfaction he resolved to “*vivre comme un reclus, comme un ours*.” He then went to Spain, where he secluded himself, and died “*e lai visquet, e lai morti*.”—Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies*, tom. v., p. 433 ; *Hist. Litt. de France*, tom. xix., p. 536.

more ostensibly demonstrating his passion, attired himself in a wolf's skin, and allowed himself to be hunted by shepherds and dogs in the mountains of Cabaret. This act of insanity, however, nearly cost him his life; for the dogs, having caught him, wounded him so dangerously that he was carried for dead into the house of his beloved *Louve*, whose husband (the lord of Cabaret) engaging a physician, shortly effected a cure.*

The fates of Geoffroi Rudel are more tragical and mournful than those of Pierre Vidal. In a voyage to the Holy Land he fell violently in love with the Countess of Tripoli, whom he had never seen. He addressed several poems to her, and finally, unable any longer to curb his strange passion, embarked for Africa. During the passage, however, he fell sick, and arrived at Tripoli in so enfeebled a state, as not to be able to leave the vessel. In this lamentable condition he sent to inform the princess of his situation, and besought her to give him some token of her regard. Touched with the recital of his strange passion, the princess personally visited him on board the vessel where he lay. This unexpected mark of condescension was too great for the already exhausted Geoffroi to support, and in a frenzy of love and gratitude the warrior poet expired at her feet. The awful sight so agonized the lovely Countess that she immediately renounced all worldly enjoyments, and, secluding herself in a convent, devoted herself to an eternal celibacy. The remains of Geoffroi were buried with the greatest pomp; and a splendid tomb of porphyry attested to future generations the too fervent passion of the hapless Troubadour.†

The numerous forms of composition, which were either adopted, or invented in the amatory effusions of the Provençals, are almost incredible; each poet appears to have framed some peculiar mode of versification by which to denote his passion. To give a list of the names of all these compositions would afford but little amusement, we shall therefore restrict ourselves to a few of the more important; referring our readers for the other ones, to the valuable collections of Raynouard. The *Albas* and *Serenas*‡ were stanzas sung by the poets at the break or close of day in honour of their mistresses; these compositions among which may be ranked some of their most

* Diez, *Geschichte und Werke der Troubadours*.

† Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*; Millot, *Hist. Litt. des Troub.*, tom. i., p. 85.

‡ *Alba* in Provençal signifies "day-break;" *Serena* is derived from *Sers*, signifying "evening."

pleasing productions, bear a strong resemblance to the watch-songs* of the German Minnesingers. The *chansons, sons, sonnettes* and *ron-dast*, were a few of the principal forms in which the poet was wont to clothe his passion or to record his sufferings. Perhaps, however, the most pleasing of these poems are the *planhs* or songs composed on the death of a mistress; they are in general extremely captivating alike from the style in which they are narrated—from the tenderness and pathos which their occasion naturally calls forth—from the venerable simplicity of their language—and from the melancholy beauty of the prolonged metre, which, by embalming them in melody, gives an air of richness and of beauty to compositions in themselves insipid.

* In the *wachterleider* as in the *albas* the poets evince their skill in narrative composition. They commence generally with a parley between the love-struck knight and the “ladie” of his love. The stolen interview is also generally interrupted by the approach of the sentinel of the castle; who warns the lovers that morning is approaching, and commands them to separate. Perhaps the best of these compositions is the celebrated one by Marcabrun, commencing

“En un vergier, sotz fuelha d'albespi,
Teuc la dompna son amic costa si
Tro la gays erida que l'alba vi
Oy dieus ! Oy dieus ! de l'alba tan tost re.”

The original is given in Raynouard, tom. iii., p. 375, and a German translation will be found in Diez, p. 168.

† The *ronda* (*cançon redonda*) bears a stronger resemblance to the fopperies and *Nugas difficles* of the scholastics, than to the extemporaneous productions of the Provençals. Its requisites were, that the last line of the first should rhyme with the first of the second strophe; and the first line of the first with the last of the second. The accompanying list of the rhymes of a poem of this description, by Giraut Riquier, may suffice as a specimen.

FIRST STROPHE.

clamans
estraire
dans
comjaire
chans
sabens
contradire
vens
dezire
jauzens.

SECOND STROPHE.

jauzens
cossire
valens
sospire
mens
afans
aire
enans
gaire
mans.

This poem has been transcribed by Diez, and published in his *Geschichte der Troubadours*, from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, entitled “*Cans on redonda et enoadenada de mots e de son.*”

The picture of Provençal love-song presents, as must every other, a bright and a repulsive side ; the one as much to be cherished and praised, as is the other to be deprecated. Despite, however, its licentiousness, and it is great ; despite its immoral allusions, and they are not a few ; despite the chilling objections which critics have delighted to heap upon it, the amatory poetry of the Troubadours presents to the student an inexhaustable fund of instruction and delight. Emboldened by a common sentiment—urged on by the same cause—the Troubadours presented an irresistible phalanx to the further encroachments of barbarism ; and the briefest survey of the state of society before their advent and after their fall, will authorize us in hailing their existence, as a brilliant triumph in the great cause of man. In our joy at the impulse which their sentiments of love imparted to mankind, we can overlook the excesses into which it hurried them ; and we can bear in mind that its evil influence was soon remedied, but that the good has never ceased. In a word the passion of the Troubadours, licentious and ungoverned as it was, first imparted to modern Europe the breath of intellectual life ; first displayed the harmonizing and irresistible effects of its cultivation ; and first presented the master key, with which to unlock the fetters which for more than ten centuries had restrained the mind. Nor was this all-powerful engine to be resisted ; before its influence man's chains were destined to drop off, and he himself to proceed exulting in the glorious track of honour, and liberty, and glory, and power. The tide of mental cultivation, once aroused, flowed on with rapid and increasing steps ; the gentle stream which had been aroused by the Troubadours, was, by their successors, transformed into the boiling torrent, which, still dashing onwards, spurned every obstacle, and hurried the barrier and its builder to the same destruction. The mind was thus irresistibly impelled to improvement, and uniting refinement to gallantry, burst forth, as does the sun from the clouds, which have for a time obscured him in a dazzling galaxy of brilliancy, excellence, and power.

CRITES.

(To be continued.)

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*Account of the Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Knyghte.**

SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILLE was one of those chivalrous characters who overpassed, even in a romantic age, the common bounds of enterprize in quest of adventure or experience. He manifestly possessed an extraordinary mental constitution, and its prominent features appear on every page of his Itinerary. His spirit was ardent, credulous, enthusiastic. A concise but interesting notice of his Life, including remarks on his communications, is prefixed to this valuable and well-executed Reprint of his "*Voiage and Travaile*" by his editors. He was born at St. Alban's about the beginning of the fourteenth century; and, after completing a liberal education in literature, languages, philosophy and physic, he set out on his travels from which he did not return till after the long period of thirty-four years. Towards the end of his active life, he went to Liege where he died in the year 1371: he was buried there in the "Abbie of the Order of the Guelielmites," and a monument with a descriptive epitaph was erected in that church to the memory of our celebrated countryman.

Scholars, collectors and other lovers of ancient Book-lore, owe a large amount of gratitude to Mr. Lumley, the intelligent and very spirited Publisher of Sir John Maundeville's extraordinary production. For more than a century the editions of 1725 and 1727 were the most esteemed of all others in the English language; but thanks to modern enterprize here so happily exemplified, the present Reprint excels its predecessors, in the distinctness of its typography, and in the number and beauty of its graphic illustrations. We too have sincere pleasure in acknowledging our extreme obligation to the same liberal Bibliopolist for the use of those wood-cuts by which the importance of this article is essentially enhanced.

Sir John Maundeville enters on his curious narrative with a "Prologue," wherein he enumerates the objects of his various peregrinations, and specifies the design for which the history of his "*travailes*" was compiled. In the vernacular language of our ancestors, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, he states that

* *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Knt. which treateth of the Way to Hierusalem; and of marvayles of Ynde, with other Ilands and Countreyes*: reprinted from the edition of A.D. 1725; with an introduction, additional notes, and a glossary, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq. F.S.A. F.R.A.S.; pp. xii, 325, London, 1839: published by Edward Lumley, 56, Chancery Lane, with a Frontispiece, title-vignette, and seventy fac-similes of the ancient wood-cuts.

"For als moche as it is longe tyme passed that there was no generalle Passage ne Vyage over the See; and many Men desiren for to here speke of the holy Lond, and han thereof gret solace and comfort; I John Maunde-vylle, Knyght, alle be it I be not worthi, that was born in Englonde, in the Town of Seynt Albones, passed the See, in the Zeer of our Lord Jesu Crist mccccxii, in the Day of Seynt Michelle: and hidre to have ben longe tyme over the See, and have seyn and gon thorghe manye diverse Londres, and many Provynces and Kingdomes and Iles, and have passed thorghe Tartarye, Percy, Ermonye, the litylle and the grete; thorghe Lybye, Caldee, and a gret partie of Ethiope; thorghe Amazoyne, Inde the lasse and the more, a gret partie; and thorghe out manye othere Iles that ben abouten Inde, where dwellen many dyverse Folkes, and of dyverse Maneres and Lawes, and of dyverse Schappes of Men. Of whiche Londres and Iles, I schalle speke more playnly hereafter. And I schalle devise zou sum partie of thinges that there ben, whan time schalle ben, afre it may best come to my minde; and specyally for hem that wylle and are in purpos for to visit the Holy Citee of Jerusalem and the holy Places that are thereabout. And I schalle telle the Weye that thei schulle holden thidre. For I have often tymes passed and ryden the way, with gode Companye of many Lordes: God be thonked. And zee schulle undirstonde, that I have put this Boke out of Latyn into Frensche, and translated it azen out of Frenche into Englyssche, that every man of my Nacioun may undirstonde it. But Lordes and knyghtes and othere noble and worthi Men that conne Latyn but litylle, and have ben bezonde the See, knowen and undirstonden, zif I erre in de-visyng, for forzetyng, or elles; that thei mowe redresse it and amende it. For things passed out of longe tyme from a Mannes mynde or from his syght, turnen sone into forzetyng: Because that Mynde of Man ne may not ben comprehended ne withhelden, for the Freelte of Mankynde."

With the enthusiasm and devotion of an unsophisticated papist, Sir John proceeds to "teche zou the Weye out of Englonde to Costantinoble," and his itinerary is sufficiently precise, if not entertaining; it finishes with an account of the "Ymage of Justynyan the Empe-rour," accompanied with a lively graphic illustration. The traveler's next theme is "the Crosse and the Croune of oure Lord Jesu Crist, and his Cote withouten Semes, and the Spounge, and the Reed, of the which the Jewes zaven our Lord Eyselle and Galle;" and, on each of these venerable articles, he discourses with pathetic and circumstantial eloquence. His description of "the Cytee of Costantynoble and of the Feithe of the Grekis," evinces the closeness of his observation, and the extent of his acquaintance with the practices of the Greek church. He allows that "Men of Grece ben Cristene, zit they varien from oure Feithe;" and for this distinction, he adduces very copious and abundantly cogent reasons. For, he says,

"Thei are not obedyent to the Chirche of Rome, ne to the Pope. And thei seyn that here Patriark hath as meche Power over the See as the Pope hathe on this syde the See. And therfore Pope Johne the 22nd sende Let-tres to hem, how Cristene Feithe scholde ben alle on; and that thei scholde ben obedyent to the Pope that is Goddis Vacrie on Erthe, to whom God zaf his pleyn Power for to bynde and to assoill. And thei senten azen dyverse Answeres; and amonges othere, thei seyden thus—*We trowe wel that thi Power is gret upon the Subgettes. We mai not suffre thin hyge Pryde. We ben not in purpos to fulfille thi great Covetyse. Lord be with The; For oure Lord is with us. Fare Welle.*"

Sir John concludes this chapter of his pilgrimage, with a sight of the Geeek "*A B C*, what Lettres thei ben, with the names that thei clepen them;" and he observes apologetically for his details, "alle be it that theise touchen not to o way, nevertheless thei touchen to that that I have hight zou, to schewe zou a partie of Custumes and Maneres, and dyversitees of Contrees. For many Men have gret lykynne to here speke of straunge thinges of dyverse contreyes."

Our communicative journeyer enlivens "the Weye fro Costantynoble to Jerusalem" with a view of the "Tombe of Seynt John, in the whiche is noughte but Manna that is clept Aungeles Mete," and the episode of "the Doughtre of Ypocras," with a due portion of topographical speculation. We transcribe this episode for the gratification of our kind friends, who promise a reasonable share of advantage to the *ANALYST*, from the occasional introduction of an essay in "*Light Reading*:" and here it follows.

From Crete "passen Men thorghe the Ile of Colos, of the whiche Iles Ypocras was Lord offe. And some Men seyn that in this Ile is zit the Doughtre of Ypocras in forme and lykenesse of a gret Dragoun that is an hundred Fadme of lengthe, as Men seyn, for I have not seen hire. And thei of the Iles callen hire the Lady of the Lond. And sche lyethe in an old Castelle in a Cave, and scheweth twyes or thryes in the Zeer. And sche dothe non harm to no Man, but zif Men don hire harm. And sche was thus chaunged and transformed from a fair Damysele into lykenesse of a Dragoun be a godesse that was clept Deane. And Men seyn that sche schalle so endure in that forme of a Dragoun unto the tyme that a knyghte come that is so hardy that dar come to hire and kisse hire on the Mouthe: And then schalle sche turne azen to hire owne Kynde, and ben a Woman azen; But aftre that sche schalle not liven longe. And it is not longe sith then that a kynghthe of the Rodes that was hardy and doughty in Armes, seyde that he wolde kyssen hire. And whan he was upon his Course, and wente to the Castelle, and entred in to the Cave, the Dragoun lifte up hire Hed azenst him. And whan the knyghte saw hire in that forme so hidous and so horrible, he fleyge away. And the Dragoun bare tho knyghte upon a Roche, mawgre his Hede; and from that Roche sche caste him in to the See; and so was lost bothe Hors and Man. And also a zonge Man, that wiste not of the Dragoun, wente out of a Schipp, and wente thorghe the Ile till that he come to the Castelle and cam into the Cave, and wente so longe till that he fond a Chambre, and there he saughe a Damysele that kembed hire Hede and lokede in a Myrour; and sche hadde meche Tresoure abouten hire: and he trowed that sche hadde ben a comoun Woman that dwelled there to resceyve Men to Folye. And he abode till the Damysele saughe the Schadewe of him in the Myrour. And sche turned hire toward him, and asked him what he wolde. And he seyde, he wolde ben hire Limman or Paramour. And sche asked him zif that he were a knyghte. And he seyde nay. And then sche seyde that he myghte not ben hire Lemman. But sche bad him gon azen unto his Felowes and make him knyghte, and come azen on the Morwe, and sche scholde come out of the Cave before him, and thanne come and kysse hire on the Mowthe, and have no Drede; for I schalle do the no maner harm, alle be it that thou see me in Lykenesse of a Dragoun. For thoughe thou see me hidouse and horrible to loken onne, I do the to wytene that it is made be enchantment. For withouten doute I am non other than that thou seest now, a Woman; and therfore drede the noughte. And zif thou kysse me, thou schalt have alle this Tresoure and be my Lord, and Lord also of alle that Ile. And he departed fro hire and wente to his

Felowes, and cam azen upon the Morwe for to kisse this Damysele. And whan he saughe hire comen out of the Cave, in forme of a Dragoun, so hi-



douse and so horrible, he hadde so gret drede that he fleyghe azen to the schippe; and sche folewed him. And whan sche saughe that he turned not azen, sche began to crye as a thing that hadde meche Sorwe: and thanne sche turned azen in to hire Cave; and anon the knyghte dyede. And sith then hidrewards myghte no knyghte se hire but that he dyede anon. But whan a knyghte comethe that is so hardy to kisse hire, he schalle not dye, but he schalle turne the Damysele in to hire righte Forme and kyndely Schapp, and he schalle be Lord of alle the Contreyes and Iles aboveseyd."

Pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem would find a useful "guide-book" in the Knyghte's Voiage to the Londe bezond the See, for he carefully directs "Men," by miles and land-marks and marvels, how to visit and view the "cytees of Rodes, Cipre, Thire, Sarphen, Sydon, Akoun, Gaza, Cesaire, Ascolonge, Jaffe," and thence to the holy city. For the generous purpose of creating amusement by the way, he describes a "Fosse, the which is 100 Cubytes of largenesse, and alle fulle of Gravelle schynynge brighte, of the whiche men maken fair Verres and clere: and men comen fro fer for to fetten of that Gravelle; and thoughe there be nevere so moche taken away there of on the day at Morwe it is as fulle azen as evere it was. There is everemore gret Wynd in that Fosse that stereth everemore the Gravelle, and makethe it trouble: and zif ony Man do thereinne ony maner Metalle it turneth anon to Glasse; and the Glasse that is made of that Gravelle, zif it be don azen in to the Gravelle, it turnethe anon in to Gravelle as it was first, and therfore somme Men seyn

that it is a sweloge of the gravely See." Now truly, as Sir John says, this "is a gret merveille," and may have proved a good inducement with our generous Bibliopole to represent the process in a bold graphic illustration. This is accompanied by another in which Sampson appears exerting his strength to make a great halle falle upon the Philistienes the whiche had put out his Eyen, and schaven his Hed, enprisound him be Tresoun of Dalida his paramour.

Our "Travailere's" account of Cyprus would be duly appreciated in the days of his pilgrimage. He delineates the geography and ecclesiastical institutions of this island, without omitting notes on "Dismas the gode Theef," and on some of the earlier "seynts" who, it seems, were either born or buried in this happy country. They of this "Londe" have a rather singular domestic custom: at meals, "they had lever sythen in the erthe than setten formes and tables." We are informed that here it is the manere of Lordis and alle othere men to eten on the erthe; for they make dyches in the erthe alle aboute in the halle depe to the knee and thei do pave hem, and whan thei wil ete thei gou there in and sytten here; and the skylle is, for thei may ben the more fressche, for that londe is meche more hotter than it is here." Field-sports, in Sir John's time, were not neglected by the Cyprian squires: for they, he relates, huntun with Papyonns that ben lyche Lepardes, and they taken wylde bestes righte welle, and thei ben somdelle more than Lyouns, and thei taken more scharpely the bestes and more delyverly than don Houndes. While the fancier of word-lore may be exercising his ingenuity on the *Papyann*, we submit a figure of this clever animal to the attention of practical zoologists.



In his introduction to the "Voïage," the editor justly estimates the suggestion "that Maundeville may never have gone to the east at all, but compiled his book out of previous journals"—a suggestion alike flimsy and unjustifiable. It is refuted by the knightly journalist's own declaration. At page 35 we find him stating explicitly that

"At Babyloyn, there dwelleth the Soudan in his Calahelyke, in a fair Castelle strong and gret and wel sett upon a Roche. In that Castelle duellen, alle way to kepe it and to serve the Sowdan, mo than 6000 persones that taken alle here Necessaries of the Sowdanes Court. *I oughte righte wel to knowen it, for I duelled with him as Soudgour in his Werres a gret while asen the Bedoynes.* And he wolde have maryed me full highly to a gret Princes Daughtre zif I wolde han forsaken my Lawe and my Beleve. But I thank God I had no will to don it for no thing that he behighten me."

Again, in noticing him the whiche leet sle his brother previlyfor to have the Lordschipe, and made him to ben clept Melechmadabron, Sir John says, at p. 39, "*and he was Soudan what I departed fro the Contrees.*" Several other places of our pilgrim's "Travaile" (as pp. 4, 130, 137, 167, 169, 180-1, 190, 219, 220-1, 235, 264, and 314-15-16) retain distinct evidences of his actually having visited the far distant east, and ben dwellyng amonges many a dyverse folk of dyverse secte and beleve, and of his having made his Tretys aftre information of men that knewen of thinges that he hadde not seen himself, and also of marveyles and customes that he hadde seen himself as fer as God wolde zeve him grace. His good faith is manifest in this passage. After having told yow som of the Wayes, by the Londe and eke by Water, how that Men mowen goon unto Jerusalem, he adds a description of another waye, alle by Londe un to Jerusalem and passe noon See from Fraunce or Flaundes, comprizing an account of *Batho*, the foulest Contree and the most cursed and the poorest that men knowen. At page 130, he remarks, distinctly and candidly, "I have not ben in that Contree ne be tho Weyes, but I have ben at other Londes that marchen to tho Contrees, and in the Lond of Russye and in the Lond of Nyflan and in the Reme of Crako and of Letto and in the Reme of Daresten and in manye other places that marchen to the Costes; but I wente never by that weye to Jerusalem; wherfore I may not wel telle zou the manere." In fine, after depicting the wealth and splendour of the "Grete Chane of Chatay," our spirited topographer proceeds to say, at page 220,

"And zee schulle undirstonde that my Felowes and I, with oure Zomen, we serveden this Emperour and weren his Soudyours, 15 monethes, azenst the kyng of Mancy, that held Werre azenst him. And the cause was, for we hadden gret lust to see his Noblesse and the Estat of his Court, and alle his Governance to wite zif it were suche, as wee herde seye that it was. And treuly we fond it more noble and more excellent and ricchere and more marveyllous than ever we herde speke offe, in so moche that we wolde never han leved it, had wee not seen it. For I trowe that no Man wolde beleve the noblesse, the ricchesse, ne the multytude of folk that ben in his Court, but he had seen it. For it is not there as it is here; for the Lordes here han

folk of certain nombre als they may suffice, but the gret Chane hath every day folke at his Costages and Expenses as withouten nombre. But the Ordynance, ne the expenses in mete and drynk, ne the honestee ne the clen- nesse, is not so arrayed there as it is here; for alle the Comouns there eten withouten Clothe upon here knees, and thei eten alle maner of Flessche and litylle of Bred. And after Mete thei wyppen here Hondes upon here Skyrtes, and thei eten not but ones a day. But the Estat of Lordes is fulle gret and riche and noble. And alle be it that sum men will not trow me, but holden it for Fable to tell him the Noblesse of his persone and of his Estate and of his Court, and of the gret multytude of folk that he holt, natheless I schalle seye zou a partye of him and of his folk, aftre that I have seen, the manere and the ordynance, fulle many a tyme. And whoso that wol may leve me zif he wille; and whoso wille not may chuse; for I wot wel zif ony man hathe ben in tho Contrees bezonde, though he have not ben in the place where the grete Chane duellythe, he schalle here speak of him so meche mervelouse thing that he schalle not trowe it lightly: and treuly no more did I my self til I saughe it. And those that han ben in tho Contrees, and in the great Chane's Houshold, knowen wel that I seye sothe."

Now, in these extracts and references, there is full and fair reason for concluding that "Sir John Maundeville's Voiage and Travaile" was a true pilgrimage, and that "he departed from oure contrees and passed the See, the Zeer of Grace 1322, and passed manye Londres and manye Yles and Contrees, and cerched manye fulle straunge places, and have ben in manye a fulle gode honourable Companye, and at many a faire Dede of Armes."

In the section where Sir John treats of many Soudans and of the "Tour of Babiloyne," he inserts a diversity of historical sketches, and adorns them with the pageantry of monkish or legendary inventions and disfigured notes of events recorded in the sacred writings. Here follows a saintly tale, with a lively representation.

"The Mount of Synay is clept the Desert of Syne, that is to seyne, the Bussche brennyng. There is an Abbeye of Monkes, wel bylded and wel closed with Zates of Iren, for drede of the wylde Bestes. And the Monkes



ben Arabyenes or Men of Greece: and alle thei ben as Herrenytes; and thei drynken no Wyn, but zif it be on principalle Festcs; and thei ben fulle devoute Men, and lyven porely and sympely with Joutes and Dates; and they don gret Abstynence and Penaunce. There is the Chirche of Seynte Kateryne, in the whiche ben manye Lampes brennynge. For thei han of Oyle of Olyves y now, bothe for to brenne in here lamps and to ete also. And that plentee have thei be the Myracle of God. For the Ravens and the Crowes and the Choughes and othere Foules of the Contree assemble hem there every Zeer ones, and fleen thidere as in pilgrimage; and everyche of hem bryngethe a Braunche of the Bayes or of Olyve in here Bekes in stede of Offryng and leven hem there; of the whyche the Monkes maken gret plentee of Oyle, and this is a gret Marvaylle. And sithe that Foules that have no kyndely Wytt ne Resoun gon thidre to seche that gloriouse Virgynne, wel more oughten Men than to sêche hire and to worschipe hire. Also behynde the Awtier of that Chirche is the place where Moyses saughe oure Lord God in a brennynge Bussche; and whanne the Monkes entren into that place thei don of bothe Hosen and Schoon or Botes alweys, because that oure Lord seyde to Moyses, *Do of thin Hosen and thi Schoon, for the place that thou stondest on is Lond holy and blessed.*"

Having descanted largely on the merveylls and maneres of Palestine, Syria, and the adjacent countries—as the deserte betwene the chirche of Seynt Kateryne and Jerusalem, the dri Tre and how roses came first in the worlde; the pilgrimages in Jerusalem and the holy places thereabout; the temple of oure Lord, the crueltee of Heroud, the Mount Syon, the Probatika Piscina, and the Natatorium Siloe; the dede See and the flom Jordan; the hed of Seynt John and the usages of the Samaritanes; the province of Galilee, and where anti-christ schalle be borne; the cytee of Nazarethe, the age of our Ladie, the day of doom, and the customes of the Jacobites, Surryenes, and Georgyenes; the cytee of Damasce and the thre weyes to Jerusalem—Sir John endeavours to depict the usages of the Sarasines; tells how the Soudan arresond the auctor of this book; and then relates the "begynnyng of Machomete, who was first a pore knave that kept cameles, and wenten with marchantes for merchandize." The "Londes of Albanye and Libye" are next brought under observation, and the topographer diversifies his picture with a tale of the "Wishshinges for Wacchinge of the Sperhawk," and a tradition respecting "Noes Schippe," as an element in the system of popish mystification. Thus, you are told that

"Fro the cytee of Artyzoun go men to an hille that is clept Sabissocolle, and there besyde is another hille that men clepen Ararat, but the Jews clepen it Taneez, where Noes Schippe rested and zit is upon that montayne, and men may seen it a ferr in cleer wedre. And that montayne is wel a 7 myle highe. And sum men seyn that thei have seen and touched the Schippe, and put here fyngres in the parties where the feend went out, when that Noe seyde *Benedicite*. But thei, that seyne such wordes, seyn here wille, for a man may not gon up the montayne for gret plentee of snow that is alle weyes on that montayne, nouthre somer ne wynter; so that no man may gon up there, ne nevere man dide sithe the tyme of Noe, saf a monk that, by the grace of God, brought on of the planks down, that zit is in the Mynstre at the foote of the montayne. Upon that montayne to gon up, this monk had gret desir, and so upon a day he wente up, and whan he was upward the 3

part of the montayne he was so wery that he might go no further; and so he rested him and felle o slepe; and whan he awook he founde him self lig-gynge at the foot of the montayne. And than he preuede devoutlye to God that he wolde vouche safe to suffre him gon up. And an Angelle cam to him and seyde that he scholde gon up, and so he dide. And sithe that tyme ne-ver non; wherfore men scholde not beleewe suche wordes.”*

With his chorography of the “Londe of Job” and the “Yle of Amazoyn,” our communicative wanderer furnishes his readers with a note on Manna, and a disquisition on the verray Dyamant, its know-ledge and vertues. He eulogizes the Lond of Job as a fulle fair contree and a plentyous of alle godes. In that Lond, he says, “there ys no defaute of no thing that is nedefulle to mannes body. There ben hilles where men geten gret plentee of Manna, in gretter habundance than in any other contree. This Manna is clept Bred of Aun-geles, and it is a white thing that is full swete and righte delicyous, and more swete than hony or sugre; and it comethe of the dew of heaven that fallethe upon the herbes in that countree, and it conge-lethe and becomethe all white and swete; and thei putten it in Medi-cynes for riche men to purge evylle blode, for it puttethe out malen-colye.” With his “loose notes” on Ethiopia, he introduces Pliny’s fable of the Monoscelli or *sciopods*, “the whiche ben folk that han but o foot, and thei gon so fast that it is marvaylle; and the foot is



* An improved version of this legendary adventure has a place in Char-din's Travels—*Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*; 4to, four volumes, Amsterdam, 1735.

so large that it schadewethe alle the bodye azen the sonne whamme thei wole lye and reste them :” and here is a joyous gentleman reposing in that comfortable position.

Following our guide on his eastward “travaile,” we find him describing the customes of the Yles abouten Ynde, the difference betwixt Ydoles and Symulacres, the 3 maner growing of Peper on o tree, and the Welle that chaungethe his odour every hour of the day.

“Symulacres,” he affirms, “ben ymages made afre lykenesse of men or women, or of the sonne or of the mone, or of ony best, or of ony kyndely thing; and Ydoles is an ymage made of lewed wille of man, that man may not fynden among kyndely things, as an ymage that hathe 4 heds, on of a man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of some other best that no man hathe seyn afre kyndely disposicioun.” Regarding the vegetation and culture of Pepper, “zee schulle undirstonde that the peper growethe in maner as dothe a wyld Vyne that is planted fast by the trees of that wode for to susteynen it by. And the fruyt thereof hangethe in manere as reysynges, and the tre is so thikke charged that it semethe that it wolde breke; and whan it is ripe it is alle grene as it were Ivy Beryes; and than men kyttten hem as men don the vynes, and than thei putten it upon an oven, and there it waxethe blak and crisp. And there is 3 maner of peper alle upon o tre; long peper, blak-peper, and white peper. The long peper men clepen *Sorbotyn*, and the blak peper is clept *Fulfulle*, and the white peper is clept *Bano*. The long peper comethe first, whan the lef begynneth to come, and it is lyche the chattes of haselle that comethe before the lef, and it hangethe lowe. And afre comethe the blak with the lef in manere of clusteres of resynges alle grene; and whan men han gadred it than comethe the white that is somdelle lasse than the blak; and of that, men bryngen but litille in to this contree.”

Like the “Holy Wells” of the West, our traveller’s “Welle of Zouthe” was marvellously salubrious. He thus defines its virtues :

“Near the cytee of Polombe is a grete montayne, and at the foot of that mount is a fayr Welle and a gret, that hathe odour and savour of alle spices. And at every hour of the day, he chaungethe his odour and his savour diversely; and whoso drynkethe 3 tymes fasting of that watre of that Welle he is hool of alle maner sykenesse that he hathe. And thei that duellen there and drynken often of that Welle, thei nevere han sykenesse and thei semen alle weys zonge. *I have dronken there of 3 or 4 sithes*, and zit methinkethe I fare the better. Sum men clepen it the *Welle of Zouthe*, for thei that often drynken there of semen alle weys zongly and leven with outen sykenesse. And men seyn that that Welle comethe out of Paradys, and therefore it is so vertuous.”

Sir John next enters on an interesting account of the Domes made be Seynt Thomas in the cytee of Calamye, of the Devocoun and Sacrifice made to Ydoles there, and of the Procession of the Ydole’s Chare aboute the cytee: then he describes the evylle customes used in the Yle of Lamary: and then he engages in an astronomical disquisition to prove how the Erthe and the See ben of round forme and schapp, be pref of the sterre that is clept *Antartyk*, that is fix in the southe.

Passing with our conductor into the Yle of Java, we accompany him over the Palays of the kyng of that gret contree, the whiche is

nyghè 2000 myle in circuyt. With something of the bearing of a botanist, he speaks of the trees that beren mele, hony, wyn, and veynym, and of othere mervaylles and customes used in the yles marchinge thereabouten. This yle, he tells you, is fulle wel inhabyted : there growen alle maner of spicerie, more plentyfous liche than in any other contree ; as of gyngevere, clowegylofres, canelle, zedewalle, notemuges, and maces. And wytethe wel that the notemuge berethe the maces ; for righte as the note of the haselle bathe an husk with outen, that the note is closed until it be ripe and afre fallethe out, righte so it is of the notemuge and of the maces. Manye other spices and manye other godes growen in that yle. As Pliny the naturalist had done before him, Sir John avouches the existence of certain extraordinary lacustrine canes found in this island, and he concludes his summary of their uses, with the asseveration—and deme no man that I seye it but for a truffule, for I have seen of the cannes, with myn owne eyzen fulle manye times, lyggynge upon the ryvere of that lake, of the whiche 20 of oure felowes ne myghten not liften up ne beren on to the erthe. Among the yles in the See Occean, he continues, there is a gret yle and good and fayr, and men clepen it Nacumera, and it is in kompass aboute more than a 1000 myle. And alle the men and wōmen han Houndes Hedes, and thei ben clept *Cynocephali*, and thei ben fulle resonable and of gode undirstondynge, saf that thei worschipen an Ox for here god. And also everyche of hem berethe an ox of gold or of sylver in his forhed, in token that thei loven wel here god. And thei gon alle naked saf a lityelle clout that thei coveren with here knees and hire members. Thei ben grete folke and wel fyghtynge, and thei han a gret targe that coverethe alle the bodye, and a spere in here hond to fighte with. And zif thei taken any man in bataylle, anon thei eten him. Here stands the cy-



nocephalous portraiture, exhibiting a marked resemblance to *Anubis*, with symbols of the Egyptian mythology.

Marvels and satyres, cyclopes and hermaphrodites, panotes and hippopodes, monkes and babewynes, dwerghes and geauntes, with folk of dyverse schap and mervelously disfigured, are main topics in the nineteenth chapter of our knyghte's lucubrations. He depicts the "Lond of Pigmaus" with much vivacity.

"There," he says, "the folk ben of litylle stature that ben but 3 span long, and thei ben ryghte faire and gentylle afre here quantytees, both the men and the women. And thei maryen hem whan thei ben half zere of age and geten children; and thei lyven not but 6 zeer or 7 at the moste. And he that lyveth 8 zeer, men holden him there ryghte passynge old. These men ben the beste worcheres of gold, sylver, cotoun, sylk, and of alle suche thinges, of any other, that be in the world. And they han often times werre



with the briddes of the contree that thei taken and eten. This litylle folk nouthur labouren in londes ne in vynes; but thei han grete men amonges hem, of oure stature, that tylene the lond and labouren amonges the vynes for hem; and of tho men of our stature have thei als grete skorne and wondre as we wolde have amonges us of geauntes, zif thei weren amonges us. There is a gode cytee amonges othere where is duellynge gret plentee of tho litylle folk; and it is a gret cytee and a faire, and the men ben grete that duellen amonges hem; but whan thei geten any children thei ben als litylle as the pygmeyes, and therefore thei ben alle, for the most part, alle pigmeyes, for the nature of the lond is suche. And alle be it that the pigmeyes ben litylle, zit thei ben fulle resonable afre here age, and connen bothen wytt and gode and malice y now."

The great "Chane of Chatay" obtains a full share of our knyghte's attention, and the journalist appears to speak, in part at least, from personal observation. He relates, in ample detail, the circumstances of this prince's court and kingdom, beginning with the rialtee of the Chane's palays, how he sits at Mete, and the grete number of officers that serve him. We are then entrusted with a knowledge of the reasons wherefore this mighty monarch is denominated, or clept, the Grete Chane; with the style of his letters and the superscriptions on his seals; with the governance of his court when he maketh solemn feasts, four times in the year; and with an account of his array when he rideth through the country. We cannot fail of admiring the magnificence of his domestic economy, as displayed in Sir John's programme of an imperial entertainment. In addition to the nobles and other high personages usually admitted to the enjoymennt of royal hospitality, we are informed, with a pleasing seriousness, that

"At o syde of the Emperour's table, sitten manye Philosofres that ben preved for wise men, in manye dyverse scyences; as of astronomye, nigromancye, geomancye, pyromancye, ydromancye, and augurye. And everyche of hem han before hem astrolabres of gold, sum speres, sum the brayn-panne of a ded man, sum vesselles of gold fulle of gravele or sond, sum vesselles of gold fulle of coles brennyng, sum vesselles of gold fulle of watre and of wyn and of oyle, and sum oriloges of gold mad ful nobely and richly wroughte, and manye othere maner of instruments after hire scyences. And at certyn houres whan hem thinkethe tyme thei seyn to certeyn officeres that stonden before hem, ordeynd for the tyme to fuillire hire cōmaundements, *Makethe Pees*; and than seyn the officeres, *now Pees lystenethe*. And afre that, seyth another of the filosofres, *everyche man do reverence and enolyne to the Emperour that is Goddes sone and soverayn lord of alle the world, for now is tyme*; and thanne everyche man bowethe his hed toward the erthe. And thanne cōmaundethe the same philosophre azen, *Stondethe up*; and thei don so. And at another houre seythe another philosophre, *Putte the zoure litylle fynger in zoure eres*; and anon thei don so. And at another houre, seythe anothre philosophre, *Puttethe zoure honde before zoure mouthe*; and anon thei don so. And at another houre, seythe another philosophre, *Puttethe zoure honde upon zoure hed*. And afre that, he byddethe hem *to done here honde a wey*; and thei don so. And so from houre to houre thei cōmaunden certeyn thinges; and thei seyn that tho thinges han dyverse significaciouns. And *I asked hem preyly* what tho thinges betokened; and on of the maistres told me that the bowyng of the hed at that houre betokened this, that alle tho that boweden here hedes sholden evere more afre ben obeyssant and true to the Emperour, and nevere for ziftes ne for promys in no kynde ben fals ne traytour unto him for gode ne evylle. And the puttyng of the litylle fynger in the ere betokenethe that none of hem ne schalle not here, speke no contrarious thing to the Emperour, but that he schalle telle it anon to his conseilhe or discovere it to sum men that wille make relacioun to the Emperour, though he were his fadre or brother or sone. And so forthe of alle othere thinges that is don be the filosofres, thei tolde the causes of manye dyverse thinges; and trustethe righte wel in certeyn that no man dothe no thing to the Emperoure that belongethe unto him, nouthur clothinge, ne bred, ne wyn, ne bathe, ne non othere thinge that longethe to him, but at certeyn houres that his filosofres wille devysen. And zif there falle werre in ony side to the Emperour, anon the filosofres comen and seyn here avys afre here calculaciouns, and conseynen the Emperour of here avys be here scyences; so that the Emperour dothe no thing with outen here conseilhe."

The "Grete Chane" also keeps his "Jogulours and Enchauntoures," and dancing damsels, and keepers of wild beasts, and "knyghtes to jousten in armes fulle lustyly, and thei rennen to gidere fulle fiercely, and thei breken here speres so rudely that the troncheons flew in sprotes and peces alle aboute the halle." He has likewise of

"Mynstralles the nombre of 13 cumancz; and he hathe of certeyn men, as though thei were zomen, that kepen bryddes, as ostryches, gersacouns, sparehaukes, faukons, gentyls, lanyeres, sacres, sacrettes, papyngayes wel spekyng, and bryddes syngyng; and also of wylde bestes as of olifauntz, babewynes, apes, marmesettes, and othere dyverse bestes; the mountance of 15 cumancz of zomen. And of physicyens cristene he hathe 200, and of leches that ben cristene he hathe 210, and of leches and physicyens that ben Sarrazines 20. This Emperour may dispenden als moche as he wille with outen estymacioun, for he dispendethe not ne makethe no moneye but of lether emprented or of papyre; and of that moneye is som of gretten prys and som of lasse prys, afre the dyversitee of his statutes; and whan that moneye hathe ronne so longe that it begynneth to waste, than men beren it to the Emperoure's tresorye, and than thei taken newe moneye for the olde; and that moneye gothe thorghe out alle the contree and alle his provynces; and therefore he may dispende y now and outrageously."

Our "Voiagere" next discourses upon the "Lawe and Customes of the Tartariennes duellynge in Chatay;" and, in this portion of his Boke he communicates many interesting particulars concerning this extraordinary people, and these certainly deserve the attention of students desirous of procuring an acquaintance with the elements of oriental history. The following subjects are treated more rapidly, but



they give sketches of men and manners which modern travellers have confirmed. Here, he treats of the Roialme of Tharse and the londes and kyngdomes towards the septentrionale partes, in comynge down from the land of Cathay : of the Emperour of Persye and of the lond of derknesse, and of othere kyngdomes that belongen to the Grete Chane of Cathay, and other londes of his unto the See of Grece : and of the contrees and yles that ben bezonde the Lond of Cathay, of the Frutes there, and of 22 kynges enclosed within the montaynes. To the admirers of vegetable marvayles, Sir John's remarks on the Frutes of these contrees may afford edification.

"Wherefore I seye zou," he observes, "that, in passynge be the Lond of Cathay toward the highe Ynde and toward Bacharye, men passen be a kyngdome that men clepen Caldilhe, that is a fulle fair contree. And there growethe a maner of fruyt as thoughe it weren gowrdes, and whan thei ben rype men kутten hem a to, and men fynden with inne a lytyle best, in flessche in bōn and blode, as thoughe it were a lytyle lomb with outen wolle. And men eten both the frute and the best, and that is a grete marveyle : of that fruyt I have eten, alle thoughe it were wonderfulle, but that I know wel that God is marveylous in his werkes."

Prester John's country and his royal estate are painted in fair colours ; and, somewhat in the foreground, stands an account of a riche man that made a marveyllous castelle and cleped it Paradys. In this dread sovereign's dominions is the "Gravely See," and

"A 3 iourneys long fro that see, ben gret montaynes, out of the whiche gothe out a gret flome that comethe out of paradys, and it rennethe thorghe the desert on that o syde, so that it makethe the see gravely. And in that desert ben manye wyld men that been hidouse to loken on, for thei ben



horned, and thei speken nought, but thei gronten as pigges. And there is also gret plentee of wylde houndes; and there ben manye popegays that they clepen psitakes in hire langage, and thei speken of hire propre nature, and salven men, that gon thorghe the desertes, and speken to hem als apertely as thoughe it were a man. And thei that speken wel han a large tonge and han 5 toos upon a fote: and there ben also of othere manere that han but three toos, and thei speken not, or but lytylle, for thei con not but cryen."

In conferring farther on the "Lordscipe of Prestre John," our kind instructor favours us with a picture of the "Develes Hed in the Valeye Perilouse in mydde place of the whiche, under a roche, is an hede and the visage of a devyl bodyliche, and he beholdethe everysche man so scharly with dreadfule eyen that ben evere more mevyngge and sparklyngge as fuyr, with so horrible countenance, that no man dar not neighen him; and fro him comethe out smoke and stink and fuyr, and so moche abhominacioun that unethe no man may there endure." Journeying from the isles of the Lordschipe, of whiche the moral and natural history are briefly sketched, we arrive at the "Yle of Bragman," and are delighted at finding it gret, gode and plentyfous, where ben gode folk and trewe, and of gode lyvyngge aftre hire beleve, and of gode feythe. A neighbouring island is clepen Gnosophe, and its inhabitants are gode folk and fulle of gode feythe; but thei gon alle naked. Their wisdom is exemplified in a dialogue between Alexander the Great and the men of that contree. In the following section, we read of the "hilles of gold that Pissemyres kepen," and of the four Flōmes that issue from the terrestrial paradise. These golden hills, "as men seyn," are in the Yle of Taprobane, and there, in Sir John's diction,

"Ben grete hilles of gold that Pissemyres kepen fulle diligently: and thei frymen the pured gold and casten away the unpured. And theise Pissemyres ben grete as houndes, so that no man may get of that gold but be grete sleighte; and therefore whan it is grete hete the Pissemyres resten hem in the erthe from pryde of the day in to noon, and than the folk of the contree taken camayles, dromedaries and hors, and othere bestes, and gon thidre and chargen hem in alle haste that thei may; and aftre that thei fleen away in alle haste that the bestes may go, or the Pissemyres comen out of the erthe; and in other tymes whan it is not so hote, and that the Pissemyres ne resten hem not in the erthe, than thei geten gold be this sotyltee; thei taken mares that han zonge coltes or foles and leyn upon the mares voyde vesselles made therfore, and thei ben alle open aboven and hangynge lowe to the erthe, and thanne thei sende forth the mares for to pasturen aboute the hilles, and with holden the foles with hem at home. And whan the pissemyres sen the vesselles thei lepen in anon, and thei han this kynde that thei lete no thinge ben empty among hem, but anon thei fillen it, be it what maner of thinge that it be, and so thei fillen the vesselles with gold. And whan that the folk supposen that the vesselles ben fulle thei putten forthe anon the zonge foles and maken hem to nyzen aftre hire dames, and than anon the mares retornen towards hire foles with hire charges of gold, and than men dischargen hem and geten gold y now be this sotyltee; for the Pissemyres wole suffren bestes to gon and pasturen amonges hem, but no man in no wyse."

* It might be a theme for Naturalists to decide whether or no this orien-



Among the customs of the kings and their people that dwell in the islands "costynge to Prestre Johnes Londe, the worshippe that the sone do the fader whan he is dede," appears to be the most remarkable. It consists of the most revolting ceremonies; thus,

"Whan the fader is ded of ony man, and the sone list to do gret worshippe to his fader, he sendethe to alle his friendes, and to alle his kyn, and for religious men and preestes, and for mynstralle also, in gret plentee. And thanne men beren the dede bodye unto a grete hille, with grete joye and solempnyte; and whan thei han brought it thider the chief prelate smytethe of the hede and leyethe it upon a grete plater of gold or of sylver, zif so be he be a riche man; and thanne he takethe the hede to the sone, and thanne the sone and his othere kyn syngen and seyn many orisouns; and thanne the preestes and the religious men smyten alle the bodye of the dede man in peeces; and thanne thei seyn certyn orisouns. And the foules of raveyne of alle the contree abouten knowen the custom of longe tyme before, and comen fleenge aboven in the eyr, as egles, gledes, ravenes, and othere foules of raveyne that eten flessche; and thanne the preestes casten the gobettes of the flessche, and thanne the foules eche of hem takethe that he may and gothe a litille thens and etethe it; and so thei don whils ony pece lastethe of the dede bodye; and aftre that the preestes syngen for the dede. And thanne semethe it to the sone that he is highliche worshipt whan that manye briddes and foules and raveyne comen and eten his fader; and he that hathe most nombre of foules, is moste worshipped. Thanne the sone bryngethe

tal legend concerning the "Pissemyres" may not have derived its origin from a fantastic consideration of the Termites and the wonderful sagacity displayed in their labours and their social economy. Consult the *Philosophical Transactions*: vol. 73, p. 139, 1781.

hoom with him alle his kyn and his frends and alle the othere of his hows, and makethe hem a grete feste. And whan thei ben at mete, the sone let brynge forthe the hede of his fader and there of he zevethe of the flesche to his most specyalle frendes in stede of Entre Messe or a sukkarke. And of the brayn panne he lettethe make a cuppe and there of drynkethe he, and his othere frendes also, with grete devocioun, in remembraunce of the holy man that the aungeles of God han eten; and that cuppe the sone schalle kepe to drynken of alle his lif tyme, in remembraunce of his fader."

Another of the islands is represented as being a great kingdom where the king is full rich and mighty; and, amongst the rich men of the country, there is a passing rich man that hath every year an annual rent of three hundred thousand horse charged with corn, rice and different kinds of grain. Now, this wealthy personage leadeth a noble and delicate life; for, says the historian,

"He hathe every day fifty fair damyseles, alle maydens, that serven him everemore at his mete; and whan he is at table, thei bryngen him hys mete at every tyme, 5 and 5 to gedre; and in bryngynge hire servyse thei syngen a song; and after that thei kutten his mete and putten it in his mouth; for he touchethe no thinge, he handlethe nought, but holden evere more his honds before him upon the table. For he hathe so longe nayles that he may



take no thinge, ne handle no thinge. For the noblesse of that contree is to have longe nayles, and to make hem growen alle weys to bend as longe as men may. And there ben manye in that contree that han hire nayles so longe that thei environne alle the hond; and that is a gret noblesse. And the noblesse of the wōmen is for to haven smale feet and littille; and therefore anon as thei ben born, thei leet bynde hire feet so streyte that thei may not growen half as nature wolde. And alle weys theise damyseles, that I spak of

beforn, syngen alle the tyme that this riche man etethe; and whan he eteth no more of his cours, thanne othere 5 and 5 of fair damyseles bryngen him his seconde cours, alle weys syngynge as thei did befor; and so thei don contynuelly every day to the ende of his mete; and in this manner he ledethe his lif; and so did thei before him that weren his auncestores, and so schalle thei that comen afre him with outen doynge of ony dedes of armes, but lyven evere more thus in ese as a swyn that is fedde in sty for to ben made fatte."

From the preceding analytical sketches, the archæologist may elicit motives to institute an attentive perusal of SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILLE'S *Voiage and Travaile*, for the purpose of discriminating such of his facts and observations as have been confirmed by subsequent experience, from the flourishes of fiction wherewithal his venerable chorography is liberally arrayed. With regard to the marvelous stories so readily credited by our author, and the great respect he pays to every relic, as the Editor has judiciously observed, these are not matters of surprize when we consider the enthusiasm of a zealous Roman catholic of the fourteenth century. He was treading on sacred ground, and credited, because he desired to credit, every idle story that came floating before his view. We may grieve over the prostration of a vigorous intellect, in conning the Knight's grete meraycles; but we need not express astonishment nor employ reprehension, on discovering the credulity of a romantic pilgrim, when we reflect that even his tales of saints and monsters, of bugbears and miracles, were originally the elaborate fabrications of "Ghostly Fathers" to whose charge the secular and religious education of Christendom was then confided. Throughout his "Tretys" are interspersed many practical directions which would prove useful to others afterwards engaged in the same course of peregrination: its extraordinary popularity, indeed, as evinced by the numerous M.S.S. and printed editions of his *Travaile*, in various languages, most clearly shows that the book was considered both entertaining and instructive: nevertheless, in all its sections, we may discern the ingenious traveller's powerfulness to detect the detestable contrivances whereby the priesthood laboured, in those days, to paralyze the divinely elastic energies of man's immortal mind.

REVIEWS OF FOREIGN WORKS LATELY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

Geschichte und System der Platonische Philosophie (History and System of the Platonic Philosophy), by Dr. K. Fr. Hermann.
1st Part. Heidelberg, 1838.

SOME years ago, Mr. Hermann, one of the most distinguished scholars, philosophers, and antiquarians of the day, intimated his intention of publishing a complete system of the Platonic Philosophy. That promise, which had excited in no small degree the curiosity of the literary world on the continent, is in part fulfilled by the appearance of the first volume, divided into three books. Though we must confess that the volume before us, so far from completing the system, on the contrary, suggests new points for inquiry, the novel and original point of view, however, which the author has taken to develop the system, will undoubtedly form a new era in the Platonic literature.

The author's plan is, to connect as close as possible the development of Plato's philosophical views with that of his moral and civil life. He is, therefore, not satisfied with the exhibition of a few detached periods in the life of Plato, but follows him through all the stages of his life, as bearing immediately upon his political and philosophical views. The period in which Plato was born leads to the investigation of the administration of Pericles and its consequences, on which Plato animadverted in unsparing terms. Plato's exclusive intercourse with Socrates, which prevented his becoming acquainted with the other philosophical systems of the day, and the subsequent death of the latter, which opened to his view the fallacious systems of his contemporaries, form a peculiar epoch in his life, not only for his philosophical opinions, but also with regard to his political views, having formed but a poor opinion of the principles of justice as prevalent in his native place, which condemned his righteous teacher to a villainous death. This his indignation induced him to decline serving his country practically, by fulfilling some public office, to which he was entitled by birth and station in social life. The author, on the other hand, points skilfully out all the advantages Plato had derived from his travels in Major Greece, and the reconciliation with his countrymen, the result of his intercourse with Dionysius and other influential characters, which also roused in him the confidence of realising his moral notions.

These are the outlines of the first book, in which an historical development of the life of Plato is most elaborately sketched. There

are, however, general points which we would not take *bona fide*, and most particularly the assertion of the author that before the death of Socrates Plato had been unacquainted with the other philosophical systems of the day—a circumstance that is replete with very important consequences for the conclusions and inferences developed in the sequel.

The second book exhibits the various systems of the philosophy of the day, their influence upon, and connection with, that of Plato. The general opinion that Plato had reconciled and adopted in his system the different contradictory views of the other philosophers, does not seem satisfactory to our author, who argues, with a great display of erudition, that Plato had merely worked out the materials of various fallacious views into a system of his own, in which he transforms the *unity* of the Electic school into the *principle of form*, the *perpetual creation* of Heraclite into the *principle of matter*, the *creating spirit* of Anaxagoras into a *primitive cause*, and the notion of harmony of Pythagoras into the final end and aim of all the operations of nature in general. In developing the systems of the philosophers just mentioned, the author dwells particularly on the system of the sophists, not only because it preceded more immediately that of Plato, and throws besides great light upon the philosophy of Socrates, but also because the author does not concur in the opinion of those who consider the system of the sophists as a corrupted branch of the vigorous tree of knowledge, but views it rather as the natural fruit of the loose and partial speculations of the preceding philosophers. Whatever the defects and fallacies, the author thinks, of their views may have been, the sophists have the credit of having been the first to single out the reflecting subject, *man*, as the basis of all philosophical contemplations; but while they spoke of man only in his individual and personal quality, Socrates pointed to the whole sphere of humanity, in his sublime relation to the Deity, as the standard of all objects in nature. The application of the Socratic doctrines, however, to the views of nature by the preceding philosophers, soon led to those partial and incorrect notions, as promulgated by the various so-called—though improperly—Socratic schools, until Plato united them all in the harmonic structure of his system.

The third book contains the chronological arrangement of P.'s writings, illustrative of his system; and is of great importance to those readers who have perused *Schleiermacher's* divisions on that head. The latter tries to lend to all the writings of P., his detached discourses not even excepted, a certain *dialectic* method, while Dr. Hermann is opposed to that view for sundry reasons, and thinks it, among others, highly improbable that P. should, in the long career of his authorship, have continually thought and written on a certain fixed plan; he is, therefore, of opinion, that the plan and method of P. underwent the same and simultaneous development as his views, and ripened with them. This the author explains and supports by

such vigorous arguments, as hard and original as they are correct, as to baffle the most strenuous advocates of Schleiermacher's system. After this introduction, the author again resumes the thread of the first two books. The death of Socrates, and P.'s return from his travels, form three periods in P.'s writings, and Dr. H. very ingeniously makes use of three dialogues *Lyris*, *Theactet*, and *Symposium*, to characterise those periods, at the same time that he places *Phædrus*—contrary to the opinion of Schleiermacher—in a far later period. As to the genuineness of the single dialogues, the author considers as forgeries, beside *Axiochus*, *Demodocus*, etc., also the second *Alcibiades*, the *Anterosts*, *Epinomis*, the definitions *Klitophon* and *Theages*, while he refutes the arguments advanced against the genuineness of the lesser *Hippias*, *Ion*, the first *Alcibiades*, *Charmides*, *Lysis*, and *Laches*.

Der Christliche Altar, archäologisch und artistisch dargestellt.

Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Altars und zur Erhaltung älterer Kirchendenkmäler und deren Wiederherstellung. Von C. Heideloff. Mit erklärenden Texte von Geo. Neumann.—(The Christian Altar, represented archæologically and artistically. A contribution to the History of the early Monuments of the Church, and their Restoration. By C. Heideloff. With an explanatory text by Geo. Numann). With eleven copperplates. Nuremberg, 1838.

HOWEVER short the explanatory remarks and observations may appear concerning the grouped figures contained in the work before us, in general the author has nevertheless most carefully noticed the most important incidents. After a few and brief remarks on the origin and names of altars in general, and on their form and nature, among the Jews and heathens, the author begins his description of the christian altar, from the original form of a simple table of the first century, down to the most complicated structure and adornments of the later ages. The main object of the celebrated artist by the exhibition of the numerous groups of altars, seems to have been to draw the attention of the wardens and trustees of churches to the discord that frequently exists between the architecture of the church and the altar, and to assist them to remedy the evil without being absolutely versed in the minutiae of the art. "It often struck me," says the author, "that the colossal altars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were entirely misplaced in churches built in the form of architecture as prevalent in the tenth or fifteenth century. An instance of palpable disharmony of this sort is seen in the Cathedral of Bamberg, which is built in the pure Byzantine style, while the colossal altar, reaching to the very vault of the roof, disfigures the *tout ensemble*—"

ble as something monstrous. It is astonishing how people calling themselves architects should be so ignorant of the archæology of their art. Even taste and common sense ought to have pointed out to them the absurdity of disfiguring an edifice built on the plan of architecture of the tenth or fifteenth century, by modern ingredients, to erect in it an immensely large altar, giving to the whole the appearance of two distinct churches, one within the other, and not seldom obstructing the view of a fine piece of architecture or window; by such a proceeding they defy all the rules of the art and taste, destroy all harmony of architecture to raise a lasting monument of their own ignorance and vanity."

The sketches of the figures are elegantly executed, and sufficiently illustrated to convey the views of the author. The whole is chronologically arranged, showing at once the architecture of the various ages, and exhibiting to the naked eye its style, symmetry, and peculiar beauties.

Die Herer im Westen und Osten. Eine ethnographische Untersuchung über deren Stammverwandtschaft, nach der Mythe und Geschichte, mit Rück sicht auf die Cultur und Sprache dieses Volks; nebst einer Ansicht der Homerischen Kimmerier und der sogenannten Homerischen Geographie überhaupt. Artemidorus der Geograph.—(*The Iberians in the West and the East*; an ethnographical investigation into their relationship, in accordance with Mythology and History, and with regard to the culture and language of that people; together with a view of the Homeric Cimmerians and the so-called Homeric Geography in general. Artemidorus the Geographer). By Dr. S. F. W. Hoffmann. Leipsic, 1838.

THERE is much information to be gathered, in the first part, concerning the Homeric Geography. The author, however, in fairly establishing the principle that, in treating the subject, we ought not to carry our present better knowledge of geography into the field of investigation to serve as a standard for our research, has himself, on the other hand, violated the very same principle, by placing the Homeric Cimmerians, who are involved in the mist of the fables and fictions of the earliest ages, in the north, and perceiving in them, after the example of Strabbo, a race of people who had settled in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. It is true that the hypothesis is greatly borne out by a host of popular sayings; yet similar testimonies may be brought in support, also, of Scheria and Ogygia, which the author rejects as pure fables, and for which he hurls his anathema against his predecessors. At all events, it remains difficult to fix a firm

point of view on a subject of that sort, when separated from the whole. Far more satisfactory is the second part, where the author, in opposition to Humboldt, who considers the Iberians of the Pyrenean peninsula as autochthons on philological grounds, renders it very probable that those western Hibernians may have emigrated from the east from some parts of Georgia. Nor can we help expressing our entire satisfaction on the light the author has thrown on the manners, constitution, religion, etc., of the people, as little has hitherto been elucidated concerning them.

The third part, bearing the title "Artemidorus the Geographer," stands in no connexion with the former, and contains, besides his life, copious fragments of his *γεωγραφούμενα*, following Stephanus of Byzantium. Mr. Hoffmann has arranged them according to the order of the books, a task not very difficult, if proper use was made of the copious notes of Stephanus. In the first book, Artemidorus treats of the Gallic coast, and the remaining part of the country of the Celts; in the 2nd and 3rd, of the Hiberians and Lusitanians; in the 4th, of Italy; in the 5th, of Coscyræ, Cephalleria, and Ithaca; in the 6th, probably of Greece and the European coast of the Pontus; in the 7th, of Libya; in the 8th, of Egypt and Arabia; in the 9th and 10th, of Asia, as far as Judea; in the 11th, of the eastern and southern coast of the Pontus. Far less is known of Illyria, as the numbers of the book in Stephanus bearing upon that country are, in part at least, corrupted; and if the correctness of *πρώτη* (*Prōtē*) be also doubted, there remains but the 5th book, which to judge from the contents, might have treated of it. The author did not add the various critical readings of the text to the fragments. The collection has, therefore, only the merit of showing us all that relates to Artemidorus; but as for the better understanding of the text, the inquisitive reader will be obliged to look out for the various editions, for we know how many blanks there are still left for criticism to fill up in the ancient geographies.

Vom Nexum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Römischen Rechts (*Of the Nexum; a contribution to the Roman law*), by Dr. Chr. Gottl. Adal. Scheurl. Erlangen, 1839.

A powerful treatise, and shows to advantage the learning and talent of the writer, and of whose exertions much may still be expected in the field of civil law. He has examined the views laid down by Niebuhr, Savigny, Zimmermann, Suchta, and Walter, concerning the *Nexum*, with great judgment and erudition, and succeeded—it appears to us—in showing their futility. His own view on the subject is so simple and natural that it appears plausible already on that score

alone, when compared with the artificial argumentations and hypotheses of the former. We must refrain from entering into the details of the work, but are sure that no impartial critic will deny it the merit of at least a lucid and elaborate investigation on the subject in question.

OUTLINES OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE, RELATING TO THE NATURAL SCIENCES & PHILOSOPHY.

The Magazine of Natural History, and Journal of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Meteorology, conducted by EDWARD CHARLESWORTH, F.G.S. 8vo, London, 1839.

No. XXVIII, APRIL, 1839.—First on the list for this month, are Madame Power's observations on the poulp of the argonaut, with concluding remarks. In a continuation of Dr. Bachman's monograph on the genus *Sciurus*, five species are described; and, in the two next articles, you have a notice of a new species of *Rotalia* with eight figures, and a description of a new fossil *Avicula*, represented in a very distinct figure. Mr. Garner proceeds with his anatomy of the *Lamellibranchiate Conchiferous* animals, and treats of their digestive, circulating, and respiratory systems: his is followed by Mr. Hope with observations on forty-four of the *Lamellicorns* of Olivier, and by Mr. Pellerin's structural differences in the crania of the four species of British *Swans*, accompanied by the figure of a skull. Mr. Bird continues his artificial arrangements of the natural orders of British plants; and this is succeeded by Mr. Waterhouse's observations on the *Rodentia*, with a view to point out the groups as indicated by the cranial structure: eight figures give illustrations. From the pen of Dr. Bird you receive a letter on the application of Heliographic or photogenic drawing to botanical purposes, with an economic mode of preparing the paper. An editorial article points out the importance of Madame Power's experiments, the defects of the "Proceedings of the London Botanical Society," and the advantages of publishing illustrative plates in supplementary numbers. And the Short Communications relate to experiments on kyanised wood, ignes fatui, captures of eagles, appearance of the bat, the migration of the swifts, improvements in the microscope, and to an anomalous apterous insect inhabiting the *Spongia fluviatilis*, whose undulating motion it is supposed to produce.

No. XXIX, MAY.—Extracts from the Proceedings of the Geological Society relating to the mammiferous remains of the Stonesfield oolitic strata, constitute the leading article of this number: this paper is long and interesting.

Professor Phillips gives a concise but most important biographical notice of William Smith, L.L.D., the "father of English geology." Dr. Bachman then describes another species, with two varieties, of the squirrels: Dr. Drummond notices and figures one Irish *Entosoon*: Mr. Hope characterizes a new species of *Lamia*: Mr. V. Wood distinguishes the four species of the genus *Lima*, and two species of the sub-genus *Limatula*, from the coralline crag: Mr. Long and Mr. Yarrell record the discovery of the nest and eggs of a common *Cross-bill* found in Surrey: Mr. Saunders points out the localities of forty plants growing about Kirtlington, and Mr. Charlesworth contributes an additional section to his illustrated zoological notices. Reviews of three books, a French, a German, and an English—Beale's on the Sperm-whale, with a plate—conduct you to the editorial article, having reference chiefly to the characters of the Stonesfield fossil jaws, and to the first specimen, by M. Louis Agassiz, of a regular system of piracy upon the literary productions of English naturalists. The Short Communications are intitled, Breeding of the Woodcock in England, Observations on the Iconographie des Insectes Coléoptères, and a new species of frog in yellow amber.

No. I. of *Natural-History Illustrations*, or supplementary plates to the Magazine of Natural History, contains four exquisitely-finished engravings. The first is a "living likeness" of William Smith, L.L.D., a portrait which ought to occupy a distinguished position in the library of every British geologist. For the second, you have a perfect figure of the magnificent *Lamia boisduvalii*, a new species from New Holland. The third plate represents the four species of *Lima* and two of the *Limatula*, in twenty-four figures; and, on the fourth, are exhibited the fossil remains of the *Hybodus delabechei*, with admirable exactness and beauty. The Natural-History Illustrations possess extraordinary merit as mere examples of Art; as graphical aids to the development of science, their importance and execution cannot be too highly appreciated.

No. xxx, JUNE.—With farther observations on the history and classification of the *Marsupial* quadrupeds of New Holland by Mr. Ogilby, this number opens with its valuable stores. Mr. Hogg follows with a prefatory review of the classifications of *Amphibious* animals adopted by modern naturalists, and the first portion of an arrangement which he himself has constructed and prefers. Observations on the *Rodentia*, by Mr. Waterhouse, are continued and illustrated with ten figures of skulls and jaws. Mr. Ogilby describes and figures the frontal spine of a new species of *Hybodus* found in wealden clay; and Mr. Woods addresses a letter to the editor respecting the supposed frontal spine of *Hybodus* in the Bath museum. Dr. Moore's catalogue of the Malacostracous Crustacea of South Devon, is a methodical, exact, and important contribution to the natural history of that district. In another section of his anatomy of the *Lamellibranchiate Conchiferous* animals, Mr. Garner enlarges minutely on their *excretory* system. A consorior epistle from "Philalethes" represents the Botanical Garden at Calcutta as having fallen into a state of lamentable degradation, and then Reviews of Hope's Coleopterist's Manual and of Halliday's Hymenoptera Britannica, bring you to the Short Communications, with the titles—Breeding of the *Cross-bill* in Gloucestershire and Surrey; carnivorous propensity of the *Squirrel*; and the distribution of the *Marsupial* animals.

The Naturalist ; illustrative of the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms ; with portraits and memoirs of eminent naturalists, and engravings on wood ; edited by Neville Wood, Esq. ; royal 8vo, London, 1839.

No. XXXVII, MAY, 1839.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>T. B. Hall</i> ; Account of the Liverpool Botanic Garden. 2. <i>Sketches of European Ornithology</i>, taken from the Analyst. 3. <i>T. G. R. Rylands</i> ; Varieties of British Ferns, and Diagnostics of allied species. 4. <i>Prof. Meyen</i> ; the Digestive Apparatus of Infusoria. 5. <i>T. B. Hall</i> ; Habits of British Plants, and Derivations of their Latin names. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. <i>J. L. Levison</i> ; Comparative Phrenology. 7. <i>Correspondence</i>, with two figures. 8. <i>Notes on Various Topics</i>. 9. <i>Memoir of Professor Lindley</i>, with a portrait. 10. <i>Proceedings of Natural History Societies</i>. 11. <i>Extracts from Foreign Publications</i>. 12. <i>Reviews</i>, intelligence, and miscellanies. |
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No. XXXVIII, JUNE, 1839.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>H. Buist</i> ; Report of Dr. Schomburgk's Expedition into British Guiana. 2. <i>Dr. Pöppig</i> ; Remarks on Tropical Seas. 3. <i>Habits of the Rat</i> ; from the Dublin Medical Press. 4. <i>T. B. Hall</i> ; Botanical Notes, chiefly referred to "Col. Velley's M.S." 5. <i>Sketches of European Ornithology</i>, taken from the Analyst. 6. <i>T. B. Hall</i> ; Habits of British | <p>Plants, and the Derivations of their Latin names.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. <i>Correspondence</i> ; the Black Scoter and Crested Grebe, the Podalaris a British butterfly, instance of three Pupæ in one cocoon. 8. <i>Proceedings of Natural-History Societies</i>. 9. <i>Extracts from foreign publications</i>. 10. <i>Reviews and Miscellanies</i>. 11. Biographical Notice of the late Dr. Latham. This number completes the fourth volume. |
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The Foreign Monthly Review and Continental Literary Journal ; 8vo, London, 1839.

WHETHER the *Foreign Monthly Review* be appreciated by its intellectual or mechanical execution, the Journal certainly possesses extraordinary merit : the subjects are selected with exemplary judgment, and the articles composed with singular elegance, remarkable ability, and a wise as well as just discrimination : we arrange their titles, in English, under the attention of our readers.

No. I, MAY, 1839.

1. *German Almanac* of the Muses, for 1839.
2. *Ramon de la Sagra*; Elementary Education in Holland and Belgium
3. *M. de Saint Hilaire*; Private Life of Napoleon.
4. *Dr. Julins*; Society and Manners in the United States.
5. *Literary Contemporaries* at Weimar, Bottigen, and Weiland.
6. *Dr. Förster*; Court and Cabinet of Augustus II, king of Poland.
7. *Dumas and Dawrats*; A Fortnight's Visit to Mount Sinai.
8. *Dros*; Reign of Louis XVI, and the French Revolution.
9. *Count M. Dumas*; His Reminiscences, published by his son.
10. *J. M. Lappenberg*; History of England, volumes one and two.
11. *French Encyclopedia* for the Educated Classes; the original of Göethe's Faust.
12. *F. T. Silvatici*; Memoir on the Draining and Improvement of the Tuscan Marshes.
13. *Franz Palacky*; Literary Tour in Italy, in quest of Sources of Bohemian and Moravian history.
14. *Dumont D'Urville*; French Expedition towards the South Pole.
15. *German Popular Publications*; Solomon and Morolf, a most diverting history.
16. *Roux de Rochelle*; Pictorial Histories—the World—History and Description of all Nations—United States of America.
17. *Literary Intelligence*—France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, Wallachia, Turkey, and Russia..
18. *Lists* of New Foreign Publications, including upwards of three hundred articles, alphabetically arranged.

No. II, JUNE, 1839.

1. *Count de Torreno*; History of the Insurrection, War and Revolution in Spain.
2. *Dr. E. Eichwald*; Travels to the Caspian Sea and in the Caucasus.
3. *Almanac of the Muses*; the Lyric Poets of Germany; second article.
4. *Thiollet and Roux*; Collection of internal and external Architectural Decorations.
5. *Dr. Hermann Ulrici*; Shakspeare's Dramatic Art, and his relation to Calderon and Göethe.
6. *Literary Contemporaries* at Weimar; second article—Göethe.
7. *Bignon*; History of France under Napoleon, the second epoch; Russia in the East.
8. *Dr. Huber*; The English Universities, a preparatory work to the History of English Literature.
9. *Daguerre's Discovery*; the Photogenic or Heliographic Impressions.
10. *Dr. Gustav Klemm*; Manual of German Archæology.
11. *G. Pierini*; Filiberta Madruzzo, an historical tale.
12. *Martin Doisy*; Unpublished Manuscript of Louis XVIII, preceded by an Examination of his Political Life till the time of the Charter of 1814.
13. *Ludwig Tieck*; Collected Tales.
14. *Dr. G. L. Kreigk*; Report on District of the Ouquis in Bolivia.
15. *J. C. Kretschmer*; Military Life in the field and the camp.
16. *Nik. Josika*; Hungarian Novels and Tales.
17. *Literary Intelligence*, from the Continent.
18. *Lists* of new Foreign Publications, in April and May.

Annals of Natural History ; or Magazine of Zoology, Botany, and Geology ; conducted by Sir W. Jardine, Bart., P. J. Selby, Esq., Dr. Johnson, Sir W. J. Hooker, and Richard Taylor, F.L.S. 8vo. London, 1839, with Graphic Illustrations.

No. XVI, MAY, 1839.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>E. Forbes</i> ; Two British species of Cydippe, with a plate. 2. <i>Dr. Arnott</i> ; New and Rare Indian Plants. 3. <i>E. Beyrich</i> ; Goniatites in the transition formations of the Rhine, with figures. 4. <i>Capt. Cautley</i> ; Fossil Ruminant allied to Giraffidæ, in the Siwalik hills. 5. <i>F. Dujardin</i> ; the Digestive Organs of Infusoria. 6. <i>F. Walker</i> ; Descriptions of British Calcidites. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. <i>W. Thompson</i> ; Effects of the Hurricane of January, on Birds and Fishes. 8. <i>Prof. Ehrenberg</i> ; Meteoric Paper composed of Confervæ and Infusoria. 9. <i>Bibliographical Notices</i> ; five articles. 10. <i>Proceedings of Learned Societies</i>, the Linnæan, Zoological, and Geological. 11. <i>Miscellanies</i>, and Meteorological Observations. |
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No. XVII, JUNE, 1839.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>A. H. Haliday</i> ; Generic Distribution of British Hydromyzidæ. 2. <i>C. B. Babington</i> ; The <i>Ranunculus aquatilis</i> of Smith. 3. <i>R. Patterson</i> ; Common Limpet considered as food. 4. <i>M. Lund</i> ; Fossil Mammalia discovered in Brazil. 5. <i>E. Forbes</i> ; Botanical Excursion to the mountains of Carniola. 6. <i>Sir P. G. Egerton</i> ; The Wild Cattle at Bishops Auckland. 7. <i>L. Jenyns</i> ; Three undescribed species of Cimex, with a plate. 8. <i>A. Cunningham</i> ; Botany of New | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Zealand ; fourteen species characterized. 9. <i>Information</i> respecting Mr. Gardner's Travels in Brazil. 10. <i>Bibliographical Notices</i> ; three articles. 11. <i>Proceedings of the Linnæan, Botanical, Dublin Natural History, West Yorkshire Natural History, and Zoological Societies</i>, and the Royal Irish Academy. 12. <i>Miscellanies</i> ; six articles. 13. <i>Meteorological Tables and Observations</i>. |
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The London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science ; conducted by Sir David Brewster, F.R.S., Richard Taylor, F.G.S., and Richard Phillips, F.R.S. 8vo, London, 1839.

No. XC., MAY, 1839.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Mr. Tovey</i> ; The Elliptical Polarization produced by Quartz. 2. <i>Dr. G. Bird</i> ; Products obtained by the re-action of Nitric Acid on Alcohol. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. <i>Prof. Plateau</i> ; Theory of Visual Appearances arising from the contemplation of Coloured Objects. 4. <i>Prof. Johnston</i> ; The Constitution of Resins. |
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5. *J. Ivory*; Theory of the Astronomical Refractions: the Bakerian lecture.
6. *Prof. Phillips*; Classification of Devonshire Strata.
7. *Sedgwick and Murchison*; Supplementary Remarks on the Devonian System of Rocks.
8. *D. Williams*; Classification of Devonshire Geological Formations
9. *Proceedings of the Royal, Linnæan, Geological and Cambridge Philosophical societies, and of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.*
10. *Intelligence and Miscellanies*, in thirteen articles.
11. *Meteorological Society*, Observations and Tables.

No. XCI, JUNE, 1839.

1. *C. T. Coathupe*; Products of Respiration at different times of the day.
2. *Thomson and Richardson*; Decomposition of Amygdalium by Emulsion.
3. *W. Trull*; Effects of Light and Air in restoring the Colours of the Raphael Tapestries.
4. *Prof. Forbes*; The Colours of the Atmosphere.
5. *Dr. C. T. Beke*; Alluvia of Babylonia and Chaldæa.
6. *H. Prater*; Anti-inflammable and Anti-dry-rot powers of the Subcarbonate of Soda and other salts.
7. *Prof. Plateau*; Visual Appearances arising from contemplation of Coloured Objects; a continuation.
8. *Polarized Condition of Platina Electrodes, and Theory of Secondary Piles.*
9. *Proceedings of Societies*; the Geological, Linnæan, and Edinburgh Society of Arts.
10. *Notices* respecting New Books; three articles.
11. *Intelligence and Miscellanies*; nine articles.
12. *Meteorological Table and Observations.* This and the preceding number contain several "miscellanies" relating to HELIOGRAPHY, or *photographic* drawing.

•• The October number of "THE ANALYST" will contain an Analytical Account of the "Annales des Sciences Naturelles," for the present year.

DIVI BOTANICI;

OR SKETCHES OF BOTANISTS WHOSE MERITS ARE COMMEMORATED IN
THE APPELLATIONS OF PLANTS.

ARTICLE IV.

PHYTOLOGISTS have occasionally encouraged an amiable fondness for retracing the origin of their science to the remotest times: nevertheless, the beginning of its primitive advances remain unchronicled in the records of intellectual enterprize. Moreover, although, from the youth of his being, man would necessarily be induced to draw many elements of his subsistence from the productions of vegetable nature, yet hitherto no evidence has been adduced to show that other than a mere instinctive acquaintance with the qualities of esculent or medicinal plants was possessed by the dispersed inhabitants of the world, subsequently to those tremendous convulsions of its structure which wrought, from the wrecks of herbs and shrubs and trees, the "carboniferous formations" on the globe, where they are now so extensively detected by the geologist, and employed in the most extraordinary operations of Science and the Arts. When the remains of ancient Egyptian sculpture, with their hieroglyphic characters, are methodically examined, they furnish proofs, in the figures of flowers, that certain vegetables had been immemorially appropriated by the national priesthood as determinate mystical symbols—perhaps as objects of superstitious veneration, like the wild Celtic worship of the oak and its parasitic misseltoe.¹ Among these alle-

¹ *Viscum album* is a remarkable parasitic evergreen, never known to grow upon the ground. Generally, in this country, the plant is found on the ash, hazel, lime, willow, elm, white beam, hawthorn, service, maple, willow, quicken, elm, crab, and pear; most frequently, on the apple-tree; rarely, on the oak. The misseltoe has yellowish foliage: its berries are milk-white, and so viscous as to serve for bird-lime. When these fall, they adhere to the branches of the tree on which the plant vegetates, and strike root into its bark, or are carried to other trees by birds. The Druids, who were the ancient Celtic mystagogues, entertained an exceedingly superstitious veneration for the Misseltoe of the Oak, assigning it an awful precedency in their political and religious observances. They also professed a high opinion of its medicinal virtues, esteeming it a *Pharmakon* or remedy for all diseases. For these reasons, it was gathered with the most pompous ceremonies and solemn invocations to the All-Healing, All-Saving Power to give it beneficent efficacy in the application. From an amusing chorographer and anti-

gorical plants, the lotos,² colocasia,³ persea,⁴ papyrus,⁵ squill,⁶ and banana,⁷ were consecrated as the representatives of the most sublime

quary, we derive this information respecting the druidic rite of consecrating *Uchelvar* the lofty grower, the misseltoe. "In such gloomy shadows as they most usually, for contemplation, retired their ascending thoughts into, after strict search finding an oak whereon a mistleto grew, on the sixth day of the moon (above all other times) on which was the beginning of their year, they religiously and with invocation brought them to a ceremonial banquet materials for a sacrifice, with two white bulls filleted on the horns, all which they placed under the oak. One of them" (the arch-druid generally) "honoured with that function, clothed all in white, climbs the tree and with a golden knife or scythe he cuts the mistleto, which they solemnly wrap up in one of their white garments. Then they sacrifice the bulls; earnestly calling on the All-Healing Deity to make it prosperous and happy on whomsoever they shall bestow it, and accounted it both a preservative against all poisons, and a remedy against sterility."—Note on Song ix of Drayton's *Polyolbion*. This most curious and elaborate production was first published with the title *Poly-Albion*, a chorographical description of all the tracts, rivers, mountains, forests, and other parts of this renowned Isle of Great Britain: a poem, in two parts; folio, London, 1612. The medicinal properties ascribed to the Misseltoe were enumerated by Pliny, and have been repeated with various approbation by herbalists, even to recent times.—Plinii *Historie Naturalis*, lib. xvi, cap. 41; lib. xxiv, cap. 4.

² This beauteous vegetable grows abundantly in the Nile and its tributary waters: anciently, its magnificent flowers were employed for crowning the Egyptian deities and kings: it is still seen on the figures of Osiris, Antinous, and other sacred personages: and, nowadays as heretofore, its feculent roots are used as food, and they have a taste resembling that of the potatoe. Prospero Alpino, M.D., visited Egypt and the Mediterranean islands in A.D. 1580: in separate figures, he represents the root, leaves, and flowers of the Lotus, accompanying them with a curious dissertation.—*Historia Egypti Naturalis*, 4to, Lugd. Bat. 1735; tom. ii, p. 75, seven figures. *De Plantis Exoticis, Libri duo*, 4to, Venetiis, 1629, p. 213–29. C. S. Sonini, *Voyage dans la Haute et la Basse Egypte*, 8vo. Paris, 1800; tom. i, p. 351. This plant is the *Nymphæa lotos*, in modern botany.

³ Herodotus, and all the ancient writers on natural history, speak of this plant as having been immemorially cultivated in the south of Europe and in Egypt for its alimentary qualities: its roots and leaves are esculent, and have a grateful taste: by the Arabs, it is denominated *Edder*: it delights in a humid soil.—*Alpino and Sonini*. This is the *Arum colocasia*, an exotic species of the cuckow-pint or wake-robin.

⁴ This resembles the plum-tree, and produces the fruit called *sebesten* or *Assyrian plum*: the cultivated and wild kinds are both distinguished by Alpino, with figures: this fruit is used for medical purposes, and it yields a glutinous substance which may be substituted for bird-lime. This plant was devoted to the Egyptian Isis, who had a crescent usually depicted on her head, as the mythological personation of the Moon, whose different phases were regarded as causes of the periodical return of several diseases—

and mysterious significations. Wreaths composed of foliage from the "*Sacred Plants*" accompany that magnificent emblem of divinity—the *symbolical circle*—which encompasses the heads of insculptured Egyptian personages; and, in aftertimes, this floral diadem became

a very ancient recognition of "lunar influence" on the constitution of Man. As an object of fear and worship, Isis possessed the same attributes as those of the terrible Hecate: she was denominated *dhi-thra-mbon*, the wrathful one, and *ther-muthi*, the bereaver of life, in the primitive Coptic language. Her chief temples were at Memphis and Busiris, where the cow and the antelope were revered at her shrines. This mystical matron enjoyed the reputation of being a "divine doctoresse:" she revived her son Orus from death, and discovered many valuable medicines: so late as the time of Galen, some remedial compositions were distinguished by her name. For much curious speculation on the attributes and character of Isis, the archæologist may consult the works of Plutarch, Diodorus, Herodotus, Ælian, Galen, Eusebius, and the elaborate dissertations of Iablonsky, intituled *Pantheon Egyptiorum, sive de Diis eorum commentarius*, 8vo, Francofurti ad Viadrum, 1750. With the Linnæans, this plant is *Cordia sebestena*, and it is ranked in the *Borragineous* family.

* This vegetable adorned the banks of the Nile, in the times of the Pharaohs; it grew there, but not so plentifully, in after-ages, when Egypt acknowledged the Roman sovereignty: the aboriginal papyrus has now disappeared, or become exceedingly rare, in that remarkable country, and divers kindred plants are honoured with its celebrated name. Pliny describes its valuable properties, and the manifold useful purposes to which it was applied. Plinii, *Historiæ Naturalis*, lib. xiii, cap. 11, 12, 13: Melchior Guilandinus; *Papyrus; hoc est, Commentarius in tria C. Plinii majoris de Papyro capita*; 4to, Venetiis, 1572. Alpino figures the plant, and says it is named *Berd* in the Egyptian dialect. By the oriental sages, it was held to possess therapeutical energies: it is the *Cyperus papyrus*, the prototype of paper.

° Under the designation *περσικόν*, the sea-onion enjoyed a sacred reputation in the temple of Pelusium, on account of its diuretic virtues, and activity in curing a kind of dropsy endemic in that marshy district. Pythagorus compiled "one entire volume" on the Squill, and recounted its medicinal virtues. It was this philosopher's opinion that "if the sea-onion were hanged up in the entry of any dore, it kept out all" *medicamentorum malorum* "charms, enchantments, and sorceries."—Holland's *Pliny's Natural History*, vol. ii, p. 19, 52. This is the *Scilla maritima*, the squill whose virtues are still recognised by modern physicians.

ⁱ *Musa sapientum*, the banana fig, represented the Prolific Essence, the fountain of that admirable fecundity of Providence, which constantly supplies both man and animals with plentiful nourishment: leaves of this, and others of the most fruitful plants, were added to the symbolical circle—the characteristic emblem of their deity—the source of all salutary influences, the supreme disposer of the seasons, the giver and sustainer of vital energy, the all-wise and all-mighty ruler of the universe.—*Histoire du Ciel, considérée selon les idées des Poètes, des Philosophes et de Moïse*; 2 tomes, 12mo, Paris,

the prototype of the pictorial *halo* or glory that betokens the distinction of deified sages and saints. But, in all these solemn assignments, we discern no trace of the Herbalist instituting floricultural experiments, no trace of the Botanist seeking to originate the infancy of system, for a philosophy of plants.

During their long sojourn in the "Land of Ham," the Hebrew patriarchs, and the wise men among their descendants, would naturally desire to cultivate an intimacy with the sacred as well as secular "learning of the Egyptians," as this emanated from a formidable and jealous hierarchy, whose sovereign behests proportioned the development of knowledge and civilization. Having been a high-privileged student of this erudition, from the dawn of his youth to the prime of his days, the "Legislator of Israel" would receive initiation into the deepest of its occult principles. Along, therefore, with his necessary investigations, he would designedly or otherwise become conversant with the herb-lore of Egypt, as this was entertained by the mystagogues to whose discipline the guidance and culture of his pupilage were consigned. Notwithstanding these advantages, however, his "literary remains" preserve no traces from which it would appear that he had ever chosen to facilitate the adoption of his doctrines and histories, by the introduction of floral illustrations in the form of similitude or allegory. From the Divine Books, we derive no authority for imagining that Moses ever evinced a predilection for pondering on the economy of plants—that he ever relieved the solitude of his rambles among the Arabian mountains, by engaging in the pursuits of a phytoscopist. Some few herbs and trees have been specified by the sacred writers, under expressive designations; but the first immature perceptions indicative of botanical system are inexistent with all these harbingers of immortal truth, even with Solomon himself, although "he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." Theirs were themes of momentous and everlasting import: with their mission, they acquired no warrant to engage in seductive declamations on the marvels of nature and the majesty of intelligence: for an indissoluble rule to individuals and families and nations, these re-

1739, and again in 1757: also an English version by J. B. de Freval, two volumes, 8vo, London, 1740; b. i, c. i, sec. 9, 11, and 14. A curious note on the sacred plants of Egypt is given by De Pauw, in his *Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese*; vol. ii, part iii, sec. vii. There is a very elegant English version of this philosophical work, by Capt. John Thomson, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1795.

vealers of an eternal science inculcated the duty—an instinctive and rational duty—of constituting the discipline of man's religious faculties to be for ever the essential and predominating principle in every institute enacted for maturing the development and instruction of his other mental powers.

Under the form of introductory disquisitions, the discreet Adrian Cocquius examines a diversity of curious and recondite questions having reference to the subject of his phytographical dissertations on the Bible plants and trees.⁸ One of his sections is occupied with the solution of these profound inquiries—*Do vegetables sleep? Why do the most odoriferous herbs grow in eastern countries? Who first assigned to plants and herbs their proper denominations?* He decides that vegetables do not sleep by night, and he advances to this conclusion through a terse dialectical induction: he believes that herbs are more fragrant in the oriental than in meridional regions, in southern than in northern climates; and he ascribes this difference to the action of heat, dew, and genial showers, as the natural causes: he affirms that Adam originally designated vegetables by their generic appellations, because it is certain that the patriarch gave names to every living creature brought to him by the Creator to see what he would call them; and the erudite phytologist submits for a proposition—that, since the lord of paradise thus distinguished the several animals, he would naturally perform the same office for vegetables, because he had better opportunities of knowing them, would frequently use them as esculents, and would often, *ad Dei gloriam*, hold converse respecting them with his wife and children.

What were the sources—Phœnician or Pelasgic or Egyptian—from which the ancient Hellenic herbalists derived an insight into the pleasures and advantages of exploring the recesses of Vegetable Nature, the spirit of posterity has not hitherto been able to determine. From the birth-time of their states, however, and with a people among whom the intellectual powers displayed an exalted and wonderfully diversified energy, there would exist many votaries of Chloris⁹ endowed with a disposition to delight in adopting the genial exercises of *Herborization*, and in prosecuting researches to discover

⁸ *Historia ac Contemplatio Sacra Plantarum, Arborum et Herbarum, quarum fit mentio in Sacra Scripturâ*; authore Adriano Cocquio; 4to, Ulissingæ, 1664; sec. v, p. 19.

⁹ In the Greek theosophy, Chloris possessed the same attributes as were assigned to Flora by the Roman hierarchs, in later times. In the modern botanical nomenclature, there is a term devoted to the remembrance of her divinity.

the nutrient and medicinal properties of plants. Thus, by chroniclers of the Heroic Ages, the botanical antiquary is furnished with grateful remembrances of chieftains and warriors and sages who contemplated the nature of Herbs with a view to the benefit of mankind, or aimed at describing them by distinctive characters for the diffusion of phytosophical experience. Such were Chiron, and the crowd¹⁰ of his illustrious pupils; such were Circe, Medea, Orpheus, and others of the Argonautic adventurers: and such were the instructors from whom Musæus, Homer, and Hesiod, acquired their knowledge of the moly,¹¹ the nepenthe,¹² the polion,¹³ and other salutiferous plants.

¹⁰ The Chironians were—Achilles, Æneas, Amphiaraus, Antilochus, Aristaus, Castor, Cephalus, Diomedes, Esculapius, Hippolitus, Jason, Machaon, Melanion, Meleager, Mnestheus, Nestor, Palamedes, Peleus, Podalirius, Pollux, Telamon, Theseus, and Ulysses—all of whom are celebrated in the chronicles of primeval achievement. Circe was famous for her acquaintance with the poisonous qualities of herbs; and Medea astonished the people of Iolchos by restoring Æson, their enfeebled old prince, to the vigour of youth. She abstracted blood from his veins, and then filled them anew by injecting the juice of certain plants, which forthwith inspired him with sprightliness and energy—a happy result of this pristine surgery. Orpheus was venerated, both as a sage or diviner, and a physician, by the Thessalian and Thracian clans; and it is asserted by Pliny that Orpheus had the credit of being “the first man known, by all records, to have written anything curiously and exactly of simples,” and of teaching that the roots of parsneps have the property of rendering “folke amatorious.” Musæus, the son of Antiophemus appears, in mythology, as the pupil or associate of Orpheus; and, like him too, was held for a “wise one” and a physician, the inventor, indeed, of medicine as a study, and of the art of divination. Homer and Hesiod were nearly cotemporaries; and, according to Theophrastus, Pliny, and other naturalists, the two most illustrious of ancient poets were phytologists, instructed in the efficacy of particular vegetables, with their medical and chirological applications.

¹¹ Since the commentary of Eustathius on the Homeric *Moly*, many disquisitions and monographs, assertions and conjectures, have been promulgated to the literary commonwealth, as evidences of talent, industry, and erudition. Hence has it happened that different essayists bring forward their various reasons for representing the wonderful heaven-sent plant, as the water-lily, hellebore, meadow-saffron, garlic, onion, or pæony. Others regard the picture as a moral allegory; and the same expedient might be practised on any poetical difficulty. Homer’s description is remarkable for clearness and brevity: the Moly, he says, has a milk-white flower, with a black root, and can hardly be eradicated. *Homeri Odyssea*, curante Barnes; græcè et latine: 2 tomis, 4to, Cantabrigiæ, 1711; lib. x, v. 304–5. *Homeri quæ extant omnia*, græcè et latine, cum perpetuis Spondani commentariis: folio, Basileæ, 1606; *Odyssee*, p. 140, 142. *Eustathii Commentarii in Homeri*

Among the herbs distinguished for their virtues by the primeval healers, there was a plant which still continues to be generally regarded with some admiration for its beauty, and immemorably considered valuable on account of its restorative energy: neverthe-

Odysseam, græcè et latinè, cura Politi et Salvini; folio, Florentiæ, 1735, p. 397. Theophrasti *Historia Plantarum*, græcè et latinè, curis Bodæi, Scalligeri et Constantini; folio, Amstelodami, 1644, p. 1129. Plinii *Opus Divinum*, cui titulus *Historia Naturalis*; folio, Parisiis, 1526: lib. xxv, cap. iv, p. 363. J. A. Siburns; *Dissertatio de Moly Hermetis Herbâ*; 4to, 1698. G. W. Wedel; *Exercitatio Mythologica de Moly Homeri*, 4to, Jenæ, 1713. D. G. Triller; *Dissertatio de Moly Homericò*; 4to, Lipsiæ, 1716. According to Wedel, the moly is a nymphæa: with Triller, it is neither a species of allium nor a nymphæa, but undoubtedly a black hellebore, "cui flos candidus sit, et nigra radix, quæ difficulter effodiatur."

¹² Like his marvellous moly, Homer's *Nepenthe* has occasioned many phytological discussions. The poet represents it as a product of Egypt; and, when mixed with wine, as a medicine capable of assuaging grief, calming anger, allaying pain, producing oblivion of misfortune, and extinguishing sensibility.—*Odysseæ*, lib. iv, v. 221. With *Pliny*, some essayists regard the *nepenthe* as an *Inula helenium*, or elecampane, because the specific appellation retains the name of the wife of Menelaus, Helen, whom Homer describes as the giver of this anodyne potion to Telemachus and his companions. Galen considered it as a kind of bugloss, *Anchusa italica*, and this view has been adopted by his disciples. Plutarch will have it to be the *Borago officinalis* or common borage; and, by certain inquirers, the question has been propounded—what if Queen Helen's delicious beverage was genuine coffee, the most choice of all potations. In books, it stands as hemp, henbane, and saffron; but, by most pharmacologists, with Wedel and Sprengel at their head, it is considered as a narcotic, in which the opium constitutes the chief ingredient. *Peter Petit*; *Homeri Nepenthes, sive Helenæ medicamento, lethum, animique omnem ægritudinem abolente, et aliis quibusdam facultatibus prædito*, dissertatio; 8vo. Trajecti, 1689. Dr. Petit examines all the notices of the *Nepenthe* in ancient writers, and concludes that it was a vegetable, without specifying the particular plant. *G. W. Wedel*; *Programma de Nepenthe Homeri*; 4to, Jenæ, 1692. It is opium, according to the professor's judgment. *Kurt Sprengel*: *Historia Rei Herbariæ*; 8vo. Amstelodami, 1807-8, tom. i, p. 25. The commentaries of Eustathius and Spondanus on this Homeric vegetable, and the several writers whose speculations on the same subject are examined by Duport, comprize much curious erudition and critical research in the dark fields of botanical archæology. *Jac. Duport*, *Homeri Gnomologia, duplici Parallelismo illustrata, græcè et latinè, cum observationibus ac notis*; 4to, Cantabrigiæ, 1660. *A. L. Marquis* enters into a discussion on the substances which have been represented as the *Nepenthe* of the ancients, and on the probability of its being an opiate.—*Dict. des Scs. Meds.* tome xxxv, 444-7.

¹³ Theophrastus, in the twenty-first chapter of his ninth book, treats of the herbs which affect the human mind, and thus lead to peculiarity of con-

less, although its nature and its name are not recorded as having been discriminated in Eden, yet the traces of its botanical and medical history disappear amid the mists of remote antiquity, while its exhibitions as an ornament of mythological poësy, are abundantly singular, and have occasioned much variety of ingenious speculation among the adepts in vegetable archæology. For a reasonable curiosity, then, there may be gratification in combining the detached sketches which perpetuate the celebrity of this immortal plant, and the first legendary application of its energies in accomplishing the cure of a wounded deity by its time-honoured employer,

Pæon the Physician.—Than that of many personages who enjoy an immortality derived from the rite of mythological canonization, more deservedly commemorated is the renown of Pæon, who was distinguished, in heroic story, by the venerable designation of *ἰατρός θεῶν, deorum medicus*, physician of the gods. Exalted as was his office, however, and high as were the achievements performed by him with the applications of his *ἰδυνφανα φαρμακα*, *pellentia dolorem medicamina*, anodyne or pain-subduing drugs, there is an unusual deficiency of information respecting him, in all those circumstances of life and

duct : and, among these, he allots distinction to the *Polion*, as a plant capable of inspiring men with the most sublime and redoubtable magnanimity. He states this on the authority of Musæus and Hesiod ; and then he adds that the herb is dug up by night, under a temporary tent. On this word, his commentator, Bodæus, offers a piece of ingenious literary criticism. *Theophrasti Historia Plantarum, græcè et latine, curâ Bodæi ; folio, Amstelodami, 1644, p. 1172-4.* Dioscorides describes the Polion by its botanical and medicinal characters ; and, on his testimony, it acquired the character of an active and useful remedy. By Dr. Turner, with whom commenced the true era of English botany, the estimate of “the Vertues of Poly out of Dioscorides,” was transferred into an English version. The broth, he says, of the herbe Poly drenken, healeth the styngyng of serpentes, them that have the dropsey and the jaundes, and also them that are greued in the milt, so that it be vsed with vinegre. It vexeth the stomack and engendreth the hedach, and it lowseth the belly. If it be strowed vpon the ground, or if it be burned and made to smooke, it dryueth away serpentes, and if it be layd to emplasterwyse, it byndeth woundes together. The same notions are adopted by Lyte, Gerarde, Parkinson, and nearly all the older modern phytographers, English and continental. *Dioscorides : Opera Omnia, curâ Saraceni : lib. iii, cap. 124, p. 225.* The First and Seconde Partes of the Herbal of William Turner, doctor in physick ; folio, Collen, 1568, part ii, p. 96. The Tripolion of Dioscorides is evidently mistaken for the Polion by Pliny, in his description of that plant in the seventh chapter of his twenty-first book ; but, in the twentieth chapter, he gives the Greek botanist’s account, with additions and improvements.

character which constitute the elements of a biographical record. Nearly the whole of these relics has disappeared in the decay or overthrow of pristine knowledge.

Pæon occupies an eminent position, as the Heavenly Healer, in the traditionary memorials of Medicine; and his earliest celebrity is displayed in a scene of Homer's¹⁴ heroical representations. His office and its exercise appear as evidence that, when the theogonists endowed their deities with corporeal susceptibility, there was a considerate benevolence in furnishing them with a sagacious and experienced physician. The bardic narrative of Pæon's medical exploits, may be rendered in an epitomized version.

One of those ferocious contests which have impressed an enduring character on the Greek and Trojan armies, displays for an episodic incident the vindictive daring of Diomedes,¹⁵ who headed the Ætolian soldiery. From a huge stone hurled by this athletic champion, Æneas received a dangerous contusion of the thigh, and would have perished on the field of battle but for the interference of his mother, Venus, who rescued him from the imminent peril. Throwing her lily-white arms around the hero, and concealing his person with the skirt of her radiant mantle, the goddess was hastening to repose him in a secure retreat, when the enraged Ætolian pursued her furiously; and, launching his spear, it pierced her wrist, inflicting a wound from which outsprung the "blood immortal,"¹⁶ the dew-bright fluid that

¹⁴ Homeri Ilias et Odyssea, græcè et latinè, curâ Josuæ Barnes, 4to, 2 tomis, Cantabrigiæ, 1711: Iliadis, lib. v, ver. 401 et 900.

¹⁵ In the classical biographies, the fortunes of Diomedes and the mystical transformation of his companions, form the subject of various romantic traditions. Homer makes Dione, in the consolatory address to her wounded daughter, introduce an obscure allusion to this prince's destiny. My child, she says, it was Pallas who impelled Tydides to insult and maim you. Fool was he to forget that they who madly fight against the gods are never blest with length of days: never do their young ones, sitting on their knees, give them the pleasing name of father, on returning from sanguinary warfare. Brave as he is, let Diomedes beware lest he provoke some powerful deity, and lest Ægiale, his gentle consort, frightened by an inauspicious dream, should fill her palace with lamentations for her husband.—Iliad, book v, ver. 403—414.

¹⁶ Homer's phrase is ἀμβροτον αἷμα; but, as if in explanation, he designates the "immortal blood" an ἵχθυς, the diaphanous fluid that circulates in the blessed deities who neither eat bread nor drink αἶθροα οἶνον, red wine: hence they are bloodless, and held to be ἀθάνατον, undying. Eustathius advances some curious observations on this passage of the Iliad, and he seems willing to adopt the proposition—that, since the gods do not eat bread and drink wine, but take nectar and ambrosia for their viands; therefore, the gods

keeps the gods from dying. Raising a loud shriek, she resigned her son to the protection of Phœbus; and, obtaining from Mars the use of his chariot, the daughter of Dione¹⁷ rapidly ascended to the Olympian mansions, and soon had the injured arm restored to health by her mother's skilful surgery. This done, Dione added a theological lecture: Whatever pain you feel, my daughter, endure it with patience. You are not the first immortal that has suffered from the impious audacity of men, for the gods sometimes delight in employing it as the means of vengeance in their mutual quarrels. Mars, even formidable Mars, has been a sufferer from mortal outrage, when Otus¹⁸ and the bold Ephialtes bound down the god with ponderous chains in a brazen dungeon, where he had all but perished, when Eriboea revealed his state to Mercury, and he unseen accomplished the captive's deliverance. And Juno, too, experienced excruciating pain when Amphytrion's¹⁹ son darted a three-barbed arrow into her right breast. Nor was Pluto himself, the grizzly god of hell, safe from the insults of Alcides,²⁰ even in the murky mansions of the

have pellucid blood and enjoy immortality.—*Commentarii in Homeri Iliadem, cum versione Politi et notis Salvini*; folio, Florentiæ, 1735, p. 1186-7.

¹⁷ Dione was the daughter of Nereus, the sea-god, by Doris, who brought him fifty daughters—the Nereides—to whom divine honours were paid, as to the rest of the deities. From her intercourse with Jupiter, Dione became the mother of Venus, according to Homer's interpretation of the theogony.

¹⁸ Otus and Ephialtes, in bardic story, were the twin offspring of Neptune by Iphimedia, the wife of Alceus the giant: hence came *Aloides*, their poetical designation. In them, the energies of "organic life" appear to have been extremely vigorous; for, according to the record, they grew nine inches every month till they were slain in an impious warfare against the gods, "in the ninth year of their age." With allusion, perhaps, to these fictions, the term *Ephialtes* has been applied to the Incubus or night-mare, a distressing and not very manageable affection; it is the *Ælf-sidennæ* or elf-squatting of the Anglo-Saxon pathologists. Eustathius discerns an ingenious allegory in this fable of the Aloides—namely, the natural supremacy of Man's moral and intellectual powers in restraining and directing his animal inclinations. Eriboea was one of Juno's surnames, and Homer here distinguishes her by the epithet *πικνιλλανς*, most beauteous: with her connivance, Mercury procured the war-god's liberty by a stratagem.

¹⁹ Hercules is poetically denominated the son of Amphytrion, king of the Theban tribes, because the "strong man" owed his birth to the misfortune of Alcmena, this prince's bride, whom Jupiter deceived by one of his cowardly expedients. Alcmena's history is represented in the twenty-ninth of Hyginus' mythological fables.—*Mythographi Latini, curâ Munckeri et notis variorum*; 8vo, 2 tomis, Amstelodami, 1681.

²⁰ Alcides, the *Strong One*, was the name conferred on Hercules, with reference to his extraordinary corporeal powers, his *αλκας* or physical strength.

dead. With a keen shaft, Alcmena's son transfixes the shadowy deity in the shoulder. Wrathful and anguished, he fled to heaven, the abode of Ægiocchioan Jove,²¹ where Pæon, the divine physician, soon healed the gash with his sovereign balsam.

Another rencounter occurred between the intrepid Ætolian chieftain with Mars himself, the god of war, whose maddening energy was then fatally encouraging the hostile combatants. Inspired by Pallas, who invisibly directs his missile, the mortal warrior hurls a javelin at his immortal antagonist: the weapon pierces his "beauteous form," and stops the strife-maker's ruthless career. The anguished deity forthwith draws out the dart; and, raising a frightful roar, in a cloud of dust he ascends to the Olympian mansions. There, reproachfully pointing to the divine blood issuing from his wound, and addressing himself to his sire, Saturnian Jove, the angry war-god inveighs vehemently against Minerva, denouncing her as the "mad pernicious maid" who had caused his disgrace and pain. The "Thunderer" lends an attentive ear to this complaint: and, with a reproof for its querulous petulancy, he consigns his son to the care of Pæon, who soon heals the bleeding divinity by the application of styptic remedies.

Having thus commemorated the "celestial doctor's" skill and the wondrous efficacy of his medicine, the poet adds a description of the surgical process and its results. As milk—he sings²² in sweet similitude—as milk full soon coagulates when the fig-juice, *οἶστος*, is dexterously stirred into the snow-white liquid, so did the sides of the martial god's wide wound right quickly run together and the parts become regenerated. Thus were restored his health and beauty; and, after enjoying an ambrosial bath prepared by Hebe the youth-giver, he arrayed himself in gorgeous robes and resumed his seat beside the ethereal throne, exulting in his glory.

Homer's legendary recitations, and those of other early Hellenian poets, afford the antiquary some authority for inferring that the Science of Medicine was cultivated in Egypt during the first ages of the

The term has also been deduced from Alcæus, the father of Amphytrion, his mother's husband.

²¹ Jupiter had the appellation *Ægiocchious* from his being nurtured by the goat Amalthæa, and from his using her skin as a shield, when engaged in crushing the Titanic rebellion.

²² ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΑΙΤΑΔΟΣ Ε, 835—906. This is a book of blood and carnage, where mortals and immortals are represented as engaged in fierce and vindictive conflict.

postdiluvian world, and that the priests of Ammon,²³ who also administered the physician's office in this country, professedly referred the origin of their medical knowledge to Pæon the Healer, whom they venerated as a deified personage. Homer introduces patriarchal tradition for an ornament of his poetry, and it creates a pathetic importance in his episode of Helen's potion at the festal entertainment given by her husband, Menelaus, to the prince Telemachus and his companion. He represents the queen as preparing an exhilarating and enrapturing beverage, prepared with various wonder-working ingredients, after a form revealed to her by Polydamna,²⁴ the wife of Thon, king in Egypt, which, as the minstrel adds, spontaneously yields an exuberance of medicinal herbs capable of determining salutary or baneful results, according to the manner of their combination. In that prolific land, he further sings, every *ἰατρος* or *healer* is the wisest of mankind, its physicians being sages, and Pæon their progenitor.

²³ According to the Egyptian mystagogues, Ammon possessed the divine and sovereign attributes which Jupiter had ascribed to him, in aftertimes, by his Grecian votaries. In the most ancient vernacular language of Egypt, this deity was denominated Amun, the radiant source, the sun. The name appears in later history as *Amūn*, Ammon, and Hammon, whose rites were celebrated at Thebes, in a splendid temple; and, in the form of a ram, he received adoration, as the symbol of the sun. A. A. T. Macrobius: *Saturnalia et Expositio in Somnium Scipionis*; folio, Venetiis, 1472; lib. i, cap. 18. P. E. Iablonsky; *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*; 8vo, Francofurti, 1750; lib. ii, cap. 2.

²⁴ This princess bears the credit of having initiated Helen, during a brief sojourn in Egypt on her homeward pilgrimage after the destruction of Troy, into much "useful knowledge" in the philosophy of magic and medication; and, among other valuable revelations, she instructed this frail matron in the methods of administering the herb, *Helenium*, which the phytographers employ to signalize her name. Dioscorides describes an *Helenium*, and denotes its salutiferous qualities, without speculating on the origin of its appellation. Pliny, however, reiterates the fancy of its first germination, and his exhibition of its virtues displays the charms of "liberal principles." It sprang from the tears of Helen, he says, and exercises a particular influence in preserving beauty, and that they who use it are sure of being amiable and gracious, winning love and favour wherever they come. Dioscoridis Opera, Saraceni; lib. i, cap. xxvii, p. 24. Plinii Historia Naturalis, lib. xxi, cap. xxi. Theophrasti Historia Plantarum, Bodæi, p. 683. Matthioli Opera Omnia; folio, Basileæ, 1674, p. 72. In his curious poem, ΘΗΡΙΑΚΑ, v. 314, Nicander of Colophon relates, with approbation, the hospitality of Thon to the Spartan prince and his queen after their dangers in a storm, and the loss of their pilot from the bite of a serpent. Thon was king of Canopus, a place renowned for the worship of Serapis and the dissolute manners of its inhabitants.—Nicandri Theriaca et Alexipharmaca, græcè, latinè, ac Italicè, curis Gorraë, Salvini, et Bandinii; 8vo, Florentiæ, 1764, p. 55, 147.

During the earlier stages of ethnic mythology, both the secular and sacerdotal devotees of Polytheism characterized Pæon by precise distinctions of his person as an illustrious mortal, and of his office as "physician of the gods." Aftertimes, however, found the ignorance or zeal of a superstitious enthusiasm blending each of these characters with the attributes of Apollo, the god of many things and of medicine. Nevertheless, though Apollo the deity became Pæan²⁵ for striking the Python dead, yet neither fact nor fiction has endowed Pæon with divine prerogatives. Although the work of some mystic's or minstrel's ideality, his exaltation attests the merit accorded by posterity to his consummate proficiency, as a mortal sage, in the exercise of pre-eminent intellectual and moral powers.

From the preceding sketches, a curious inquirer may deduce reasons for deciding that while employing the medical character as an ornament of heroic minstrelsy, Homer considered Pæon as a man²⁶ of sagacity and prudence, renowned for his skill in prescribing the appliances of medicine; and, in their annotations on the Iliad and Odyssey, the scholiasts make a perfect distinction between Pæon the medico-chirurgical philosopher and Apollo who presided over the medical sciences. Homer nowhere characterizes Pæon otherwise than as an *'Iatros* or healer, unattended with any epithet implying his endowment with divine attributes. On the other hand, Apollo is always distinguished in the Homeric songs, with the power and character of a deity. Thus, while Pæon is occupied with the cure of Mars in heaven, Apollo busies himself on earth with encouragements for the Trojan army and its leaders. He protects Æneas from the furious assault of Diomedes: he persuades Mars to re-animate the wavering Trojans: he himself shouts from "Ilion's topmost tower," exciting them to sustain the conflict: he descends from the tower to meet "the blue-eyed maid" in the "beechen shade:" he solicits her

²⁵ Pæan, the Apollonian epithet, appears to be founded on the verb *παίων* *percutio-ere*, to strike or smite, with allusion to Latona's son and the manner of his destroying the Pythian serpent. When at length the fantastic genius of mythology had exalted Apollo to the dignity of presiding, as a tutelary divinity, over Physic, its philosophy and votaries, then it might become the fashion to honour him with a new designation in the name of Pæon, who had immemorably represented all that is useful and venerable in the medical sciences.

²⁶ Homer represents him as the physician from whom the Egyptians derived their medical philosophy; and, in their commentaries, the *humanity* of Pæon is recognized by Eustathius, and by Villoson in his edition of the Iliad; folio, Paris, 1788, b. v, v. 899, p. 155.

to stop the fight and decide the war by a single combat; and he up-raises Hector whom Ajax had struck to the ground, with a huge stone.²⁷

In his observations on the *Odyssey*, iv, 232, Eustathius avers for an historical truth, that Pæon is altogether different from Apollo; and, in confirmation of this position he adduces a passage of Hesiod's wherein the theogonist contradistinguishes Phœbus-Apollo to Pæon the experienced pharmacosophist.²⁸ The same expositor derives Pæan, a designation of Apollo, from *παιώ*, which is *θεραπεύω*, *medeor*, *curo-are*, to heal, and this etymology²⁹ is adopted by the scholiast on Aristophanes³⁰ who both retraces the ancient *Io Pæan* or hymn of triumph to *παιώ*, and also distinguishes this word from the appellation of Him who held the sublime trust of physician to the gods. Among the songs of Solon,³¹ moreover, and to the same effect, there

²⁷ These incidents are related in the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the *Iliad*, with the accompanying circumstances.

²⁸ Hesiod's designation of the doctor is—Pæon, who knew every medicine, *πάντων φάρμακα οἶδε*; with reference to his excellence in operating and prescribing, to his high reputation for healing wounds and curing diseases.

²⁹ The observations of Eustathius are explicit. Since, he says, Homer represents the gods as liable to human afflictions, so he furnishes them with a physician, after the manner of men, that he might cure their incidental wounds. To this physician, the poet also assigns a name, deduced from the verb *παιώ*, which means the same as *θεραπεύω*, and signifies to heal, and therefore he calls him *Παιων*, the healer. Then, after observing on the wounds of Pluto, Mars, and Venus, he adds, but moreover Apollo himself is denominated Pæon in a triumphal hymn, and this was likewise designated Pæon, and chaunted in celebration of a victory.—*Commentarii in Librum E Iliadis*, p. 1236. There is high probability, however, in the proposition, that the etymological source of the term *Peon*, in its medical acceptations, will be found in a dialect which preceded those of Greece, in Europe, namely, the Celtic or Gothic language, before either became contaminated by the admixture of neological improvements.

³⁰ Scholia in Aristophanis Plutum, v. 636. Aristophanis Comediæ, auctoritate Libri præclarissimæ sæculi decimi, emendatæ a Ph. Invernisiø; accedunt criticæ animadversiones, Scholia Græca, indices et adnotationes; 8vo, 3 tomis, Lipsiæ, 1794—1811. Aristophanis Plutus et Nubes, græcè et latine, cum scholiis Græcis antiquis, et aliis quibusdam notis, curâ Joannis Leng; 8vo, Londini, 1732. Bishop Leng published his edition of these two celebrated comedies in 1695: he died in 1727, with the reputation of a distinguished classical scholar and divine.

³¹ *Analecta Veterum Poetarum Græcorum*, curâ R. F. F. Brunck; 8vo, 3 tomis, Argentorati, 1785: tom. i, p. 67. In Solon, the highest attributes of a philosopher and legislator were combined with the persuasive eloquence of a poet. He promulgated most of his laws in verse, for the purpose of facilitating their reception by the Athenian people.

is an elegy which shows this patriotic legislator recognizing the separate individualities of Pæan and Pæon : in this piece, he speaks methodically of Apollo with his priests in the first instance, and then of the physicians who derived from Pæon their knowledge in the treatment of diseases. Hence come the facts which prove that so late as the times of this Sage the distinction between these two personages—the god of medicine and the man who medicated the gods—is faithfully maintained by the revered instructors of nations in history and the sciences. Nearly one thousand years afterwards, and on two occasions, Virgil ingeniously discriminates the functions of a physician from the providence of a deity. When sketching the fate of Hippolytus, for an heroic illustration, the poet records the youth's restoration to life by the application of Pæon's³² herbs and Diana's restorative care. Again, he introduces Iapix commencing the treatment of Æneas' wounded limb with tucking his robes after the Pæonian³³ fashion, and then fomenting the lacerated parts with the potent plants over which Phœbus himself presides.

Whether then, like Esculapius, Machaon, Hippocrates and others, the physician Pæon imparted an expressive denomination to his office, or whether he himself obtained a name from his office and its beneficent results, is a question which may long remain undetermined. Most probable, however, are the circumstances that, from an unremembered date, some healer of the people must have been the prototype of him who was deemed worthy of the extraordinary dignity of "physician to the gods," in the representations of mythology ; and that, from his illustrious character, originated the venerable designations of Pæonian³⁴ race for physicians, Pæonian fashion

³² *Pæoniis revocatum herbis et amore Dianæ* ; Virgilii *Æneidos*, b. vii, 769. Diana represents her brother Apollo in this scene : she was late of receiving her medical deification from the theogonists.

³³ *Iapix retorto Pæonium in morem senior succinctus amictu, multa manu medica Phœbique potentibus herbis nequidquam trepidat, nequidquam spicula dextra sollicitat, prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum* ; *Æneidos*, b. xii 400. Here, *trepidat* means *trepidanter facit*, he proceeds with circumspection, or anxiety for the result. This sketch exhibits the poet's accuracy in describing a surgical operation.

³⁴ *Παιήνους τίς γένεθλης*, *Pæonis sunt ex prosapia*, the progeny of Pæon, the members of his profession ; *Odyssea*, iv, 232. Pæonium in morem, after the manner of Pæon ; Virgilii *Æneidos*, xii, 401 : according to the practice of surgeons ; L. Hortensii commentarius in *Æneidos*, xii, 401. *Pæoniæ Herbæ*, healing plants ; *Æneidos*, vii, 769. *Παιονίους φαρμάκους*, salutary drugs ; Plutarchi *Opuscula*. *Φαρμάκων παιονίων*, in *Æschyli Agamemnone*, has the same meaning.

for the custom of surgeons, Pæonian herbs for medicinal vegetables, and Pæonian pharmacy for therapeutical compositions.

Some expert dialecticians³⁵ endeavour to evince by argument or evidence that most of the personages adorned with divinity in the ethnic Pantheon are mere fantastic or fallacious representations of the primeval worthies whose biography is briefly chronicled in the Mosaic histories. With these well-meaning speculatists, there might be a trial to decide the question, whether the man translated by the magic of mythology to the "Olympian mansions," and charged with the Pæonian offices, was not a disfigured personation of the patriarch who "walked with God, and he was not, for God took him?"

Such, then, are the fair pictures of Pæon, the "divine doctor," as they may be contemplated in the temple of heroic minstrelsy. In this sanctuary of chivalrous and patriotic renown, his memorial is honoured far beyond those of all the other undeified sons of men; and, whoever might be the personage in whom the Pæonian character was naturally exemplified, that personage must have transcended the best of mankind in the highest attainments of virtue and philanthropy. Alike desirable and delightful are the cenotaphs erected, from gratitude for the meritorious achievements of sages and heroes, in structures of statuary or architecture; but more desirable to the generous mind are the monuments which, consecrated in the Temple of Nature, perpetuate the excellencies of philosophers who, by research and reflection, have enlarged the domain of almighty Science in developing the mysteries of material and mental existence. In this immortal Fane, immemorially devoted, still flourishes the fame of Pæon, and it endures imperishable, through the changes of three thousand years, in the freshness and beauty of

Pæony the Plant.—With a view to mystify the sentiment of veneration in the Egyptian people, their hierarchy employed a sacred language instituted from the most remote ages; and, so late as the fourth century,³⁶ several works on Natural History, composed in it,

³⁵ An ingenious speculation of this kind was propounded by Dr. Stukeley, in his comment on the nineteenth ode of Horace's second book, shewing the Bacchus of the Heathen to be the Jehovah of the Jews. *Palaographia Sacra*; or discourses on monuments of antiquity that relate to sacred history; 4to, London, 1736.

³⁶ This is affirmed by Heliodorus, who about this time wrote his beautiful and elegant romance, in which, as in Telemachus or Anacharsis, much information concerning the ancient Ethiopian and Egyptian nations, is communicated. Heliodori *Æthiopicorum librorum decem, græcè et latinè, ex versione Stan. Werschewiczki, Jo. Bourdelotius emendavit, supplevit, ac an-*

were preserved, with the animals and plants described under symbolical designations. Thus, Ivy was *schen-osiri*, *σχηνίσκος*, the plant of Osiris;³⁷ Vervain, *verbena*, the tears of Isis; Pæony, *pæonia*, the blood of Thermuth; Mugwort, *artemisia*, the heart of Bubastis; Squill, *bulbum scilliticum*, the eye of Typhon; Saffron, *crocus*, the blood of Som; Horehound, *marrubium*, the seed of Or; with many others bearing an equally enigmatical import.

For nearly fifteen hundred years, the Pæony-shrub has been extensively and assiduously cultivated in China, and also in some European green-houses, for the beauty of its flowers; and, as happened in Holland with the tulips, this roseate plant excited a sort of *Pæonimania* among the herbalists in the land of its growth. Don describes it as the *Pæonia arborea*; with Sims, it is the *P. mou-tan*, the specific term being adopted from the Chinese phytology. By the oriental floriculturists, it is denominated *Hoa-ouang*, the king of flowers, and *Peleang-kin*, the hundred ounces of gold, in allusion to the excessive sums given for certain of its varieties. It is often represented in Chinese paintings, along with the Camellia and other specious plants.

European botanists derived a very interesting account of the Mou-tan or pæony-shrub, about fifty years ago, from the Abbé Grosier,³⁸

imadversiones adjecit; 8vo, Lutet. Parisiorum, 1619; lib. iv, p. 174. Of this interesting work, there have been six different English translations, by Underdowne, in 1577; by Fraunce, in 1591; by Barret, in 1622; by Lisle, in 1638; by Tate, in 1686; and by an anonymous hand, with the title, "The Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea, a romance, translated from the Greek of Heliodorus;" 12mo, 2 vols, London, 1791. This last is highly commended as a faithful and spirited version.

** Osiris was a symbol of the sun, the same as Bacchus in the most ancient Greek mythology. Isis and Ceres had the same divine honours ascribed to them. Thermuth was Nemesis, the inflictor of just punishments. Bubastis represented Lucina in the Egyptian theology. Typhon, in the same code, was the genius of mischief, whom the Greeks mistakingly held to be Typhæus, the rebel giant, whom Jupiter crushed for his impiety. Som had also the names Dsoman Chon, and was the same as Hercules, his appellation signifying strength or power. Or became Horus with the Latins, and the Greeks made him Apollo, the source of active energy. Plutarchi de Iside et Osiride Liber, græcè et anglicè, Græca recensuit, emendavit, commentariis auxit, versionem novam Anglicam adjecit Samuel Squire, A.M. 8vo, Cantabrigiæ, 1744. P. E. Iablonsky, Pantheon Ægyptiorum, Prolegom, sect. xxx, p. lxxv.

** Jos. Ann. Mar. de Moyriac de Mailla: Histoire Générale de la Chine, traduite du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou, publiée par l'Abbé Grosier, avec la description de la Chine; 4to, Paris, 1777-85, 13 tomes. The thirteenth volume of

who devotes the fourth book of his comprehensive *Description de la Chine* to an outline of its natural history. After the popular tradition, he relates how a traveller found a pæony on its tree in the mountains of Ho-nan; and, being struck with the novelty, he tore up some of the roots with the earth adhering to them, and planted them in his garden. Without knowing the origin of this shrub, a bonze imagined he could procure one like it by grafting. The attempt succeeded, and his pæonies were more beautiful than those which were brought from the mountain. This plant soon engaged the attention of all the florists; and, by skilful culture, they brought it to perfection. Individuals pushed their rivalry in this pursuit with the extravagance of infatuation; this became general; and even the provinces contended for superiority of skill in raising the Mou-tan, that they might enjoy the glory of presenting the finest to the emperor.

With naturalists, the Mou-tan seems to claim pre-eminence, not only for the splendour and multitude of its flowers, and the sweet odour with which they aromatize the surrounding atmosphere, but also for the numerous leaves which compose them, and the beautiful golden spots wherewith they are interspersed. This shrub shoots forth many branches, and these form a top as large as those of the finest orange-trees that are raised in boxes. Sometimes it grows to the height of eight or ten feet, but the flowers are then less beautiful, and the branches cannot sustain their weight. Its root is long and fibrous, pale yellow in colour, and covered with a greyish or reddish rind; the leaves are deeply indented, and of a much darker green above than below; the flowers are composed of numberless petals, they blow like a rose, and are supported by a calyx with four leaves. From the bottoms of the petals several stamina arise without any order, and bearing on their tops small antheræ of a beautiful golden colour. Like that of the common pæony, the fruit of the Mou-tan bends downwards, bursts when it becomes dry, and then sheds the seeds.

this comprehensive History comprizes the Description of China from the Abbé's own pen: it was afterwards reprinted in two volumes; 8vo, Paris, 1786. An English translation of the Abbé's Description was given by an anonymous hand; 8vo, 2 vols, London, 1788. The fourth book, containing nine chapters, p. 343—582, is occupied with the natural history of the Chinese provinces. Ogilby furnishes a concise description of this vegetable, under the name Moutang, in his *Atlas Chinensis*; folio, London, 1671; part ii, p. 678.

When the Abbé was collecting materials for his "Description," three kinds only of the Mou-tan were distinguished in the Chinese botany—the common, the dwarf and the shrubby, each requiring a different manner of culture. At that time, the last had nearly disappeared; the dwarf was little esteemed and not much cultivated; the first was generally dispersed. It is trained like an espalier, in the form of a fan, bush or orange-tree, and some plants of this kind are made to flower in spring, others in summer, and others in autumn. They are all divided into single and double, with red, violet, purple, yellow, white, black and blue colours; and these tints, being varied by as many shades, produce an incredible number of different kinds. The Chinese florists possess the secret of changing the colour of their Mou-tans, and also of giving them whatever tints may be desired; but they cannot produce this effect except upon those plants which have never had flowers.

Like flower-fanciers elsewhere, the Chinese herbalists note the characters which impress a Mou-tan-pæony with the marks of exquisiteness. To please the eye of an herb-sage, a Mou-tan must have a rough, crooked stalk, full of knots, and of a blackish green colour: the branches must cross one another, and be twisted into many fantastical shapes; the shoots that proceed from them must be of a delicate green, shaded with red: the leaves must be large, of a beautiful green, very thick, and supported by reddish stalks: the flowers must blow at different times, in the form of a tuft, be all of the same colour, and stand erect upon their stems: they must also be seven or eight inches in diameter, and exhale a sweet agreeable odour. By this important revelation of Chinese secrets, from the pen of an Abbé so kindly communicative, the rivalry of European floriculturists might be aroused to renew an attempt to outdo their oriental competitors in the generous strife of perfecting the breed and the beauties of Pæony shrublets.

Pæonies naturally prefer upland habitats; and the slopes of Ida, or the margins of its Alpine springs, appear to have been the fields of herborization where the beauty of their flowers originally attracted the consideration of naturalists, and where the first experiments would be instituted for determining the character of their salutary powers. These were appreciated by experience, genuine or assumed, in those long-departed days which far precede the earliest records of medical or botanical history. Hence it is found that at the time when ancient physicians conducted the treatment of diseases according to the principles and method recorded in the Hippocratic scrip-

tures, the Pæony enjoyed an established reputation as a vigorous medicinal agent: but, in that venerable collection, the herb has a different appellation; and there it is Γλυκύσιδη, the sweetling, with reference to its fragrance or its effects.

Theophrastus deservedly occupies the high distinction of standing as the "father of rhizotomists," or practical botanists. He composed an elaborate History of Plants, and rested its principles on the knowledge of phytography, as this existed about three centuries and a half before the Saviour's nativity. In the hallowed remains of this history, the term Παιωνία³⁹ makes its earliest appearance as the appellation of a plant. This occurs in the ninth chapter of his ninth book, where he exhibits and criticizes the observances enjoined by the "pharmacopolists and rhizotomists," for the right preparations of this celebrated vegetable. His notes were adopted by Pliny,⁴⁰ whose translator converts them into a curious paraphrastical version. The herbalists direct that the Pæony, which some call Glycyside, "must be digged vp in the night season, for feare that the wood-speight or hickway (*woodpecker*) should see them: for, in the day-time, the said bird would flie in their faces that carry it away, and be readie to job out their eies. Also, in the very drawing of the roots out of the ground, there is some danger lest their tiwill (or bowels) fall out of their bodies who are employed about that businesse. But," he observes, "all this is a mere fabulous and vaine inuention, deuysed onelie to make folke beleeuue that this is an herbe of wonderfull operation."

Next among the relics of ancient botany, and more than two centuries afterwards, Dioscorides enumerated, as no recent discoveries, the characters and properties of the Pæony in his 'Ιατρικῆς Βιβλίου';⁴¹ and, from this convenient source, the descriptions of its kinds, and of its virtues as a medicinal remedy, have been transcribed, with different measures of modesty, into most of the subsequent Greek, Latin, Arabian and mediæval expositions of Vegetable Nature and its economy. Hence, his observations on this herb afford reason for regarding the name and the precautions observed in collecting the

³⁹ Theophrasti Historia Plantarum, curâ Bodæi; lib. ix, cap. ix, p. 1011. The annotations of Bodæus on this chapter are copious and elaborate, abounding with curious phytological criticism.

⁴⁰ Holland's Pliny, book xxvii, chap. x, p. 282. The leaves of pæony, he says, have the scent of myrrh.

⁴¹ Dioscoridis Opera, græcè et latine, curâ Saraceni; lib. iii, cap. 157, p. 237.

Pæony, were established among the "medicamentarians" at the time when Theophrastus compiled his History of Plants; and, that its energy, in various diseases, had been experientially determined by physicians, when Dioscorides was engaged in collecting his "elements of medical botany." His original descriptive picture of the Pæony, and his precepts for prescribing it with the design of removing sickness, together with the ceremonies acknowledged by ancient ritualists as necessary to be observed in gathering this benign vegetable, are freely or faithfully registered in the successive collections of Galen,⁴² Oribasius,⁴³ Paul of Ægina,⁴⁴ Apuleius,⁴⁵ Avicenna,⁴⁶ Serapion,⁴⁷ Macer,⁴⁸ Ægidius,⁴⁹ Cuba,⁵⁰ Sylvaticus,⁵¹ Plateari-

⁴² Claudii Galeni de Simplicium Medicamentorum facultatibus, libri undecim; Theod. Gerardo interprete; folio, Parisiis, 1580.

⁴³ Oribasii Collectorum Medicinalium libri xvii; J. B. Rasario interprete; 8vo, Parisiis, 1555; lib. xi, p. 194, in vocem Glycysiden.

⁴⁴ Pauli Æginetæ Opera, Guinterio interprete, cum annotationibus Cornarii ac scholiis Goupyli et Dalechampii; 8vo, Lugduni, 1689; lib. iii, p. 246, lib. vii, p. 717, in vocem Glycysidem.

⁴⁵ L. Apuleii de Medicaminibus Herbarum liber, ex recensione et cum notis J. C. G. Ackermann; 8vo, Norimbergæ, 1788, cap. 64, p. 228. Dr. A. gives a prefatory disquisition on the life, times, and writings of Apuleius, forming an important contribution to the history of botany. Apuleius enumerates a dozen of synonymes of the pæony, and considers it as indigenous among the Cretan and Sicilian mountains; the seeds, he says, shine by night when it is usually gathered by shepherds: it produces good effects in cases of insanity and of ischiadic affections.

⁴⁶ Abou-Aly-Hocein Ibn Sina, latiné Avicenna. Liber canonis, translatus a magistro gerhardo cremonensi ab arabico in latinum; folio, Mediolani, 1473; lib. ii, in vocem pæoniam. The Canon of Avicenna is divided into five books, wherein are treated, 1st, of the general principles of medicine; 2nd, of simple medicaments; 3rd, of diseases, "from the head to the foot;" 4th, of diseases generally and of "decoration;" and 5th, of medicinal compositions.

⁴⁷ Serapionis liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus, translatio Symonis Januensis, interprete Abraham Judæo Tortuosiensi de Arabico in Latinum; folio, Mediolani, 1473.

⁴⁸ Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum, curante Ludovico Choulant, 8vo, Lipsiæ, 1832, art. xlv, p. 94. This is a poem in heroic metres: it consists of 2289 verses, wherein seventy-seven plants, with their properties and applications, are not inelegantly described. Dr. Choulant shows that Macer Floridus is a more modern person than Æmilius Macer, who flourished at Rome in the early days, "*prioribus temporibus*," of the empire. In his "*Prolegomena ad Macrum*," the Editor gives philological notes on the plants; adds a list of the xxiii authors cited by Macer, and then concludes with a chronological description of the various editions—folio, Neapoli, 1477; quarto, Mediolani, 1482; quarto, Venetiis, 1506; octavo, Cadomi, 1509; octavo, Parisiis,

us,⁵² Isidore,⁵³ Otho,⁵⁴ Brassavola,⁵⁵ Dorsten,⁵⁶ Dodoëns,⁵⁷ Matthioli,⁵⁸ Bauhin,⁵⁹ Ruelle,⁶⁰ Gerard,⁶¹ Parkinson,⁶² Fride-

1511; octavo, Basileæ, 1527; octavo, Cracoviæ, 1537; octavo, Friburgi, 1540; octavo, Basileæ, 1581; octavo, Hamburgi, 1590; and five others without date or place of printing, and twelve manuscripts of Macer's metrical pharmacology. Along with his Macer Floridus, Dr. Choulant gave an improved edition of Walafrid Strabo's work intituled *Hortulus Vernatissimus, carminis elegantia delectabilis*; 4to, Norimbergæ, 1512. Seven editions of Strabo's *Hortulus* were severally published afterwards, 12mo, Friburgi, 1530; 12mo, Parisiis, 1533 and 1571; folio, Venetiis, 1547, in the Aldine medical collection; 8vo, Francofurti, 1564; 4to, Ingolstadii, 1604; 8vo, Basileæ, 1627; and then came that of 1832, with Dr. C.'s prolegomena and notes. Strabo was born in the year 807; and, in after-life, he became a monk in the monastery of Fulda, where he distinguished himself by his numerous theological writings. His *Hortulus* is "non ignobile rei poeticæ et herbariæ monumentum," consisting of 443 hexameter verses, with descriptions of twenty-three medicinal plants.

⁴⁰ *Ægidii Corboliensis Carmina Medica, recensuit et illustravit Lûdovicus Choulant*; 8vo, Lipsiæ, 1826; lib. i, v. 218; iii, v. 1154; iv, v. 609. The Opera *Ægidii* consist of three poems, *de Urinis*, *de Pulsibus*, and *de Compositis Medicaminibus*: the Editor prefixes admirable Prolegomena *de Ægidii Vita, operibus, et editionibus impressis*—quarto, Paduæ, 1484; quarto, Venetiis, 1494; octavo, Lugduni, 1505, 1515, 1526; octavo, Basileæ, 1529—with his reasons for undertaking a revision of the text. *Ægidius* prescribes the Pæony in composition with his "*Aurea antidotum*," his "*Opopyra*" or fire-juice, and his "*Triaca Magna*," as a certain remedy for epilepsy.

⁵⁰ John Cuba, M.D.—*Garten der Gesundheit* (the garden of health); folio, Moguntiæ, 1485. *Hortus Sanitatis*; folio, Moguntiæ, 1494. *De Herbis*, cap. cccxxxviii et cccxxxix. The Grete Herball; folio, London, 1516, cap. cccxxxviii.

⁶¹ Matthæi Sylvatici, medici de Salerno, *Liber cibalis et medicinalis pandectarum, ex emendatione Angeli Catonis Supinatis de Benevento*; folio, Mantuæ, 1474; cap. 589. Sylvaticus treats of the pæony under the term *Penuser vel Pionia*, and he quotes Serapion, Avicenna, and Galen, as authorities for his representation of its virtues.

⁶² John Platearius:—*De Simplicia Medicinâ Liber*, inscriptus "*Œirca Instans*," quo simplicia medicamenta usitatoria alphabeti serie describuntur; 4to, Lugduni, 1512. The compiler of "*Das Buch der Natur*," folio, Augustæ Vindelicorum, 1478, generally cites Platearius, Isidore, and Pliny, as the sources of his information.

⁵⁵ Isidori Hispaliensis episcopi *Etymologiarum libri 20*; folio, Augustæ Vindelicorum, 1472. In his fourth book, the bishop discusses questions "*de Medicinâ*;" in the eleventh, he treats "*de Homine*;" the seventeenth is occupied "*cum Auctoribus Rerum Rusticarum*;" and the twentieth has "*de Mensis*" for its general title: the rest have less relation to subjects of botany or natural history. Chapter ix of Book xvii contains his observations "*de Herbis aromaticis*," and there he originates the mistake of ascribing the discovery of the pæony to Pæon the physician, using Homer's remarks in sanc-

ric,⁶³ Hunerwolff,⁶⁴ Blackwell,⁶⁵ and Haller,⁶⁶ heading the long train of simplers, herbalists and pharmacologists, extending down to dates of no very distant days.

tion of the statement. Isidore composed his "Etymologies" about the beginning of the seventh century.

⁶⁴ Otho Cremonensis is the author of a poem de Electione et Viribus Medicamentorum, in leonine verse. It was published several times, in connection with the *Schola Salernitana*, as 8vo, Francofurti, 1551, 1553, 1556, 1557, and 1559; 8vo, Parisiis, 1559. Dr. Choulant has appended it to his edition of Macer, in an enlarged and improved form: it extends to cclxxxix verses, and, in the cxx, he says of the pæony, "Pulveris ignara, nigra, dura, pionia cara." The last piece in Dr. C.'s interesting volume, is a curious Greek poem, intituled ΑΝΘΡΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΒΟΤΑΝΩΝ, edited, with the ancient scholia added, by Julius Sillig. Twelve plants are described, in 215 hexameter verses, and thirty-eight of these are devoted to the Pæony and its medical energies; p. 208, v. 139.

⁶⁵ Antonius Musa Brassavola.—Examen omnium Simplicium Medicamentorum; folio, Romæ, 1536; 8vo, Lugduni, 1537, 1544 et 1556; 8vo, Venetiis, 1538, 1539 et 1545; 4to, Basileæ, 1538; folio, Lugd. Batav., 1731. In his Bibliotheca Botanica, Linnæus mistakes this modern Italian botanist, for Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus, and the subject of Horace's and Pliny's panegyric commemoration.

⁶⁶ Theodore Dorsten;—Botanicon; continens Herbarum, aliorumque simplicium, quorum usus in medicinis est, descriptiones et icones; folio, Francofurti, 1540, p. 212. His phytography of the Pæony is comprehensive and extends beyond a mere transcript of preceding pharmacologists.

⁶⁷ Remberti Dodonæi Stirpium Historiæ pemptades sex, sive libri xxx; folio, Antverpiæ, 1583; pemp. ii, lib. i, cap. xxxii, p. 193; with four figures, representing the male and female plants. Lyte's "Nievve Herball" is a translation of this work of Dodoens, and the pæony is described at page 237, with one figure in illustration.

⁶⁸ P. A. Matthioli.—Commentarii in sex libros Dioscoridis; folio, Venetiis, 1554. Compendium de Plantis omnibus, unà cum earum iconibus, de quibus in Dioscoridem editis; 4to, Venetiis, 1571; lib. iii, p. 589, with figures of the male and female plant. Matthioli Opera Omnia; folio, Basileæ, 1674 p. 655, cum tribus figuris.

⁶⁹ John Bauhin;—Historia Plantarum Universalis, tribus tomis; folio, Ebroduni, 1651; tom. iii, p. 490, 494, quatuor iconibus. Dr. B. here furnishes an ample and amusing account of all the circumstances, actual or imaginary, having reference to his subject.

⁷⁰ Jean de la Ruelle, latiné Ruellius; De Naturâ Stirpium libri tres; folio, Parisiis, 1536; lib. iii, cap. lxx, p. 756. At pp. 18, 19, 20, 30, 35, 41, 45, 115, and 757, he records numerous important observations on the pæony and its parts.

⁷¹ John Gerarde.—The Herball or general Historie of Plants, enlarged and amended by Thomas Johnson; folio, London, 1633; book ii, chap. 380, p. 980, with eight figures.

Many are the terms by which the Pæony has been designated, in the course of ages, with reference to its floral characters or the qualities assigned to it as a medicinal element. Apuleius enumerates its appellations, : his list includes twelve constructed from the Greek language. With the Spanish herbalists, it bears the engaging name of *Rosa del Monte*, the mountain-rose: in other lands, it is distinguished by terms expressive of loveliness and beauty. Those phytophographers err however, who represent for facts of history, that Pæon originally discovered this plant, and also employed it as the means of curing Pluto's wound. In some books, the Pæony is termed Ephithia in conformity with the alleged efficacy of its seeds in the treatment of *ἀφιάλτης*, *incubus*, the night-mare: the estimate of its medical powers is comprehensive, and the outline of their applications includes a theme for philosophical reflection, enlivened with the glimmerings of superstitious and imaginant conceit.

•• John Parkinson.—*Theatrum Botanicum*, or Theater of Plants; folio, London, 1640; tribe xv, chapter xxviii, p. 1379, with four figures.

•• John Arnold Frideric.—*Disputatio de Pæoniâ*; 4to, Jenæ, 1670. Dr. F. was professor of botany in the university of Jena. In 1660, he visited Italy, England, Germany, and the Low Countries, in quest of useful knowledge: his death took place in 1672.

•• J. Aug. Hunerwolf.—*Anatomia Pæoniæ*; 8vo, Arnstati, 1680. This is a practical essay, abounding with prescriptions, but deficient of natural history.

•• E. Blackwell.—A curious Herball, containing cccc cuts of the most useful Plants used in the practice of Physick; two volumes, folio, London, 1739. On the sixty-fifth plate, the female pæony is represented, and the male appears on the two hundred and forty-fifth. Mrs. Eliz. Blackwell was the wife of a physician who had the misfortune to be an unsuccessful speculator in medicine, printing, and agriculture. She made the drawings from nature, etched them, and coloured the figures of the plants with her own hands.

•• Albert Haller.—*Enumeratio methodica stirpium Helvetiæ indigenarum*; duobus tomis, folio, Gottingæ, 1742; tom. i, p. 310. Dr. H. produces a copious synonymous nomenclature, but his method does not admit of disquisitions on the qualities of herbs.

•• From this copious list of naturalists, which might have been extended tenfold, there may be reasons deduced for inferring—that, during the long period of more than twenty centuries, the Pæony has enjoyed its present definite appellation; that many curious observations are intermingled with the histories of its characters and uses, whether salutary or superstitious, in the repositories of botanical and medical science; and that, were modern floriculturists to take this celebrated vegetable under their patronage, they would derive a pleasant and abundant recompense from the success of their efforts in augmenting the diversity of its beauties, and in promoting the improvement of its healing energies.

From the records of traditionary phytology, the admirers of mystic legends may learn that the Pæony was regarded, by the first races of men, as a divine plant, an emanation from the moon, a vegetable glow-worm sparkling amid the darkness of night, an elfin herb endowed with the power of expelling evil spirits, of averting storms, and of ensuring favourable harvests ! Equally wonderful too were its medicinal virtues. Besides the inestimable property of cicatrizing the most deadly wounds, it cured epilepsy, convulsions, palsy, the bites of serpents, apoplexy, and indeed most of the nervous and spasmodic diseases ! What pity, that the energies of this celestial remedy should nowadays be overlooked, out of a fashionable complaisance for chemical novelties !

Herbalists usually propose instructions for the preparation and use of two Pæonies—the male and female—with figures for illustration. Most parts of the plant have been medicinally prescribed, but the root, flower, and seed, are valued as the most efficient. From the “grete herball which gyveth parfyte knowledge and understandynge of all maner of herbes and theyr vertues,” we derive this information —“Peonie is an herbe the rote whereof is so called, and the rote is to be put in medycyne, yf peonie is found in receptes. It ought to be gadred in wynter, and may be kept x yeres, and it is to be chosen that is blacke and not perced. It hath vertue to deuyde and sprede humours. Agaynst the fallynge euyl it hath a specyally hydde or secrete vertue, as Galyē sheweth of a chylde that fel not as longe as it was hanged about his necke. But now we fynde not y^t it hath suche vertue, and therefore some say that it is but one spece or kynde of pæonie onely called Peonie Romaine.”

Lyte, in his “Nievue Herball,” ascribes a reasonable diversity of “Vertues” to the plant which “tooke his name first from that good old man Pæon, a very ancient physition, who first taught the knowledge of this herbe.” He applauds its marvellous efficacy in “appeasing paynes and tormentes” and hæmorrhagies, and then he proceeds to remark, that “the roote of Peonie dried, and the quantitie of a beane of the same dronken with meade called hydromel openeth the stopping of the liver and the kidneys, and sod with red wine it stoppeth a lossenesse. The roote of the male peonie hanged about the necke healeth the falling sicknesse especially in young children. Fiftene or sixtene of the blacke cornes or seedes dronkē in wine or meade is a specyall good remedie for them that are troubled with the night mare, and it is good against melancholique dreames.” “The kindes of Peonies,” he says, “are founde planted in the gardens of

this countrie." This observation was recorded in 1578; but, in 1562, according to Dr. Turner, "the femall peonye was comon thorough out all England and Germany; but the forest y^e he ever saue was in Newberri, in a rych clothier's garden." From his own experience, Dr. Grew concluded that the inner kernel of the Peony possesses the power of determining very active aperient effects; but that, while it remains involved within its cortex, it is inert and has no operation. Now, if this conclusion were verified by repeated experiment, the fact would prove a valuable addition to the list of medicinal agents.

The story of Galen's epileptic boy attracted the attention of Dr. Turner; and, in the second part of his Herbal, he gives a version of the case, and confirms the value of the ancient prescription by the results of his own experience. "The roote of Peoni," quoth Galen, "hathe a drying poure, by reson whereof I wold not dout but y^e if it be hanged aboute childers necke it wold hele in them the fallynge siknes. I saw ones a boy delyuered viii monethes from the fallynge siknes by the hangyng of the roote about hys necke: and when, as by chance, it fell off he fell into the siknes agayne, and the same after the roote was hanged up agayn, he was well agayn. But I thought, for a surer tryall, to take the roote ones agayne, and as soon as I had takē y^e roote of agayn, he fell streyght way into hys olde siknes. But then I tooke a greate roote and tyed it tho y^e boyes neck agayn, and after that time he fell no more, but was quite delyuered of that sicknes." "Thys that Galene proued in one childe," Dr. Turner adds, "I haue proued in two childer, y^e one where of dwelled in London, and the other at Syon, my lord of Sommersette's house. But," he subjoins, "when as I proued the same in them that were of perfit age, althoughe it dyd muche good, yet it neuer wrought any suche effect in them as in the childe." Not a few names, and some of them illustrious, have suffered themselves to vouch for the accuracy of practical facts confirmatory of this piece of Galenian pathology; but, not unfairly, Dr. Caspar Hoffmann wishes to know whether Galen's peony performed the extraordinary feat from the virtue of its own nature, or whether it was conjured with magical influence; "for," he observes, "the devil helps or hinders Nature in many things." Even from the immortal Boerhaave, the physicians may accept this edifying intelligence. "The root of the peony," he states, "is hung about the necks of children to prevent an epilepsy, and the seeds are strung as beads to make a necklace for the same purpose. The male peony, in a more eminent manner, cures all sorts of convulsions, palsies,

tremblings, nocturnal frights of children, and apoplexies." Here, then, are the ancient and modern authorities for the famous "*Anodyne Necklace*,"⁶⁷ which, about the beginning of the last century, was vaunted as a remedy, altogether extraordinary, if not infallible, for a multitude of diseases.

AN ESSAY ON THE EXPEDIENCY AND MEANS OF ELEVATING THE PROFESSION OF THE EDU- CATOR IN THE ESTIMATION OF THE PUBLIC.*

CHAPTER II.

THE EDUCATION OF THE EDUCATOR.

THE legislature, to raise the profession of the educator above every other secular office, has yet one other grand and essential provision to fix and actuate its exalted duties—the education of the educator, without which national education, though divinely framed, would speedily become a dull and profitless formality. How few there are who have ever comprehended the character of an instructor and manager of children ! Of all difficult characters, the educator's seems the only impossible one. A man may, by labour and perseverance, attain the highest office, and exercise its duties with distinguished merit and ability ; but the character of a teacher of youth calls for such a rare and unexpected assemblage of virtues, such a profound intelligence, such an enlarged experience, and, above all, the genius to accommodate the sublime truths of the theory and practice of wisdom to the slender capacities of the young, that incredulity might be pardoned that turned hopelessly away from human imperfection, to relapse into the long-accustomed and dosing submission to "things as they are."

Whatever can be claimed for the character of a minister of the gospel, is not less necessary for the educator of youth ; and with

⁶⁷ Its nature and agency are explained in a tract bearing the title, "A Philosophical Essay upon Actions on Distant Objects," 8vo, London, 1715, with a title-page most portentous for its verbosity and pretensions.

* Continued from page 168.

the still further excellence of that peculiar adaptation of genius to the simplicity of the child, which is the most remarkable feature in the character of Christ, who, by one profound saying, "unless ye become as little children," explored the heights and depths of human perfectability. Without this excellence in the officer, the office will be collapsed, its duties inoperative, and the object of education utterly subverted. Primarily, the educator must become a government stipendiary: this law is inevitable, and, indeed, forms a part of the national education scheme. The appointments, in the first instance, must mainly depend upon the judgment and integrity of the minister of public instruction; for as teaching would form a part in the education of the educator, schoolmasters must be formed at once, though it would be scarcely possible to secure competent and well-instructed teachers in the commencement. Many failures and difficulties would hence arise in the interval between the establishment of the schools and the supply of masters educated expressly for them.

Untoward accidents, therefore, must be looked for, in setting the system to work; but these evils of inexperience will hereafter as certainly correct themselves. The educator must first be an appointed paid officer of government, responsible to the laws of his country for the right performance of his duties, not, as now, amenable to a private authority.

The Prussian law of national instruction of 1819 begins with this provision, 1st. "A suitable income for schoolmasters and mistresses, and a certain provision for them when they are past service": the first and the essential point. If you would have good masters, you must first of all ensure them a maintenance. The Prussian law expresses itself on this head in the most solemn manner. "It is our firm will," says the king, in whose name it speaks, "that in the maintenance of every school this be regarded as the most important object, and take precedence of all others." The amount of salaries (which must, of course, be regulated by the minister and inspectors), will depend upon the size of the school and the character of the master; but as no schoolmaster can be authorized without being well educated, there cannot be those great differences which now exist in the qualifications of masters: the income should, therefore, never be reduced to a bare maintenance, otherwise the master may be naturally expected to relax in his efforts, and so keep the school in the same unprolific and impoverished state. If the government should, by a pernicious grant, em-

barrass the progress of the national education plan, it will soon give proof of the impolicy.

A national education may be compared to a piece of mechanism : the embarrassment of any part of the structure will hamper the whole machine, and perplex all its movements. An incompetent salary will compel the educator to engage in some other occupation, which will necessarily secure his attention and interest, in proportion to his wants and the value of that occupation. The Prussian law suffers no schoolmaster to collect fees or gifts, whether in money or kind ; nor is he allowed to increase his income by any business which might lower his dignity or his morality, or divert his attention from his functions, &c. The school is the first consideration and care of the government, which, as it provides sufficiently for the wants and comforts of the master, can justly exact the whole of his time and ability to be used in the interest of the school. The allowance to infirm schoolmasters, which is also a provision in the Prussian law, completes the necessary requirements, and thus, as it were, buys the life-interest of the master, who purchases his dignity and support at the cost of his service to the state. The widows and children of masters are also provided for ; in fact, the law acts after the same manner as with many of the government offices in this country. The wretched support and want of remuneration which schoolmasters have ever met with, has been a principal cause of the degeneracy of the public mind.* This singular deficiency in the institutions of a moralized country, has not escaped the observation of many writers in past ages, who have loudly lamented the senselessness of a nation in thus giving birth to all the disorders in the state, both private and public, and which are yearly augmented. With the institution of national education, the first law must, therefore, concern the income of the educator ; and the next and not less important law is the *education* of the educator. As the former is a security to the educator, the latter is hostage from the educator to the state and to the people: the one law must be co-existent with the other. In the education of the educator, the question of the means

* "How can a man whose employment scarcely maintains him, think of anything worthy or generous ? How is he to inspire his pupils with sentiments which his pinching circumstances will not suffer to rise in his mind ? Ever anxious concerning his private economy, ever in dread of bankruptcy and poverty, how should he apply a due attention to what is sufficient alone to engage the *whole* man with the abilities of an angel, and undisturbed by every other solicitude ?"—Crito, *Essays on Various Subjects*.

first proposes itself, next, the manner or character of that education. The means of educating the educator is, by the institution of normal schools, after the manner of Germany, Prussia, or Holland, so far as may be consistent with the national character of this nation. The normal schools of Germany, Prussia, and Holland, are immediately under the controul and surveillance of government.* Although thirty years have not yet elapsed, there are now fifty normal schools in Prussia; and which supply teachers enough for the whole kingdom. To protect these schools from the officious interference of the public, the government raised them to the same privileges with the university; and they are inspected by the government authorities. The average number of scholars ranges between thirty and one hundred. The schools are situated in small towns or villages, as it was deemed imprudent to place students in the neighbourhood of cities and large towns, where they might be tempted by pleasures and allurements. Having acquired the necessary education in the elementary or burgher school, the candidates for the normal schools are examined by the committee, or school inspector, as to their fitness. The first year is devoted to supplemental instruction; the second year, to specific and more elevated studies; and the third year, to practising the art of teaching the elementary schools. The law permits both clergymen and schoolmasters to receive and train private pupils for the profession of the educator.

The Prussian government has also acted with great delicacy towards private schools, such as endowed schools and the schools of particular sects, as the Jews; at the same time, it has retained over all an authority conservative of the principle of a national education. In the election of masters in either of the above-named schools, the right is equally divided between the patrons or trustees and the government inspectors, thereby preventing the employment of men ill adapted for the office of teaching: all disputes are referred to the minister. The funds of the normal schools are supplied by the state and departmental fund. The question of the policy of an education tax has been agitated, with various success, by different persons. In an admirable paper in the second publication

* The name of Pestalozzi is engraven on the corner-stone of the first normal school established in Prussia. From the silent and unassisted efforts of that truly wonderful and excellent being, rose a system that will one day pervade every civilized portion of the globe, and by its means re-construct the mind and character of nations.

of the Central Society of Education, the writer remarks, "Of all persons, those are most opposed to the education and moral elevation of the humble classes who are but one step above them, and we much fear it will be a long time before the mass of the rate-payers in the country (and the power would be in their hands, notwithstanding the educational qualification) will consent to grant rates for the education of the peasantry. Of the town councils we might, perhaps, expect better things. In the country, it would be difficult to say where the power could be safely lodged; but it is urged, if these local authorities will not agree to educate the working classes, the government has no business to interfere. This is, however, a very questionable doctrine. If the individuals refusing to act were the only parties concerned, there might be some reason in the argument. Such, however, is not the case; it is one class dictating with regard to another—it is the case of the small farmers and small shop-keepers, determining with regard to the class immediately below them."* It may appear something too arrogant to say that this alarm is unprovoked by any analogous precedent. It is surprising how smoothly a new law will sink into operation, even though it stirred up a little troubled action in the beginning. The once dreadful law of conscription (in France), which threw its terrible complexion over the minds of distant nations, is now contemplated as a national palladium; every innovation, in fact, must be attended with some partial reluctance, the burden must be grievous indeed that is at once kicked off. There can be no national education without a national assessment, and to that assessment the nation will easily submit; or, if any disapprobation be expressed, it will be only so long as the bill is in suspense. National education is not to be treated like any other government measure; it will not admit of the expedencies and excisions to which a poor law enactment, a factory or a reform bill, may submit; there can be no infringement upon the collective principles of a national education, or it will never thrive. The people, in this instance, have clearly no right of appeal; for as the want and the supply must be co-existent and co-extensive, the popular objection presents the strongest argument both of their ignorance, and, therefore, the want of such a supply. It has been too evident what sort of national education is procured by private interference and public solicitude—a degraded and abject profession, bad masters, bad schools, bad scholars, ending in a bad people; and yet the legislature, and even learned educationists, dispute about

this or that expediency, or if the people will or will not submit to school obligation or a school assessment ; certainly they will not, or there would be very little need of national schools at all, To lower the scheme of a national education to the dispositions of an ignorant people, is like the physician signing a treaty of peace with the distemper, allowing one part to remain in order to remove the other part.

The expence of the primary normal schools in Prussia is nearly twenty thousand pounds yearly, no more than is now wasted by government in nourishing the gaunt forms of the Lancaster and Bell schools. The normal schools in Holland present some differences, but are, perhaps, better regulated than those of Germany and Prussia ; this is, in a great measure, owing to the indefatigable exertions and genius of the "general inspector of primary instruction," M. Vanden Ende, and his coadjutors. In the primary school of Haarlem, the scholars are not boarded, as in those of Germany and Prussia, but each receives a salary from the crown, and provides for himself. In the town, their conduct is not only watched by the masters, but by the police ; and the family with whom they lodge are, in some measure, responsible for their good behaviour. These families are always selected by the inspectors, and they regard it as highly honourable to receive a pupil of the national school. A probation of three months determines the admission of every pupil into the school, and even the slightest moral inaptitude or defection is enough to reject them. The period of their education in those schools is four years. A large portion of this time is devoted to the "art of teaching ;" the number of children (2,300) in the primary schools of Haarlem, furnishes ample means of acquiring this essential part of their education. The discipline of the normal schools is admirably adapted to form good and efficient teachers. In the first place, the scholars enter the school voluntarily, for the sake of perfecting themselves in a profession which they purpose to follow, and which, consequently, is the great business of their lives. They are themselves inclined to order, and have no need of the discipline of a boarding school. Every pupil is (to use the expression) under the discipline of the moral dispositions which he has brought with him to the school ; those who have not those dispositions, or do not manifest their existence during the first three months, are sent away. Those who pass the period of probation know perfectly well that the least fault will be severely visited, that they depend entirely upon the director, and that their dismissal would be caused by the slightest disapprobation expressed by him. They are forbidden

to frequent any place of public resort. If they are seen in a public house they are subjected to a severe reprimand, and for the second offence are dismissed. They cannot absent themselves from the town for a single night without the permission of the director. They do not choose their own lodging, the director does this for them; he even pays for their board. The families who receive these scholars as boarders are themselves interested in entering into the views of the director. It is an honour and a profit for a family of small fortune to be made choice of for receiving the pupils of the normal school: on the slightest suspicion the scholars are taken away. The scholars are not considered, in the house in which they inhabit, as strangers, but as members of the family; submitted to all its rules and customs, it is the business of the family always to know where the boarders are at every hour of the day. The director visits these houses every fifteen days at least. He is in communication with the police, who never fail to give him full information of all that falls within their observation. In speaking of the working of his own school, M. Prinsen said, "Yes, with a safe conscience, I declare that in this school every thing goes on generally well; and that the examples of disorders are so rare that they cannot be considered as resulting from the system." The reasons of preference given by M. Prinsen for out-boarding the normal scholars are conclusive as far as Holland is concerned, and with such masters as M. Prinsen; how far it could be adopted in England and France is a matter of doubt. "You say," said they to me, "that the boarding school, with its severe discipline, is a better preparation for the life of a schoolmaster; on the contrary, we are convinced that a young man who has passed several years in a normal school of boarders is extremely embarrassed when he leaves it and becomes sole director of his own actions; whereas, in our system, a young man learns to conduct himself, to deal with mankind, and the life which he leads is an apprenticeship for the life which he is about to enter upon."* This would, probably, be the best plan in small towns and villages; but in the large cities in this country it would be a dangerous experiment. The colleges of the dissenters or *ecclesiastical normal schools*, in this country, are by far the best regulated institutions of any that exist here; their experience and plans might be beneficially consulted in the forming national normal schools.

* This account of the primary normal school at Haarlem is chiefly taken from the second publication of the Central Society of Education, p. 127, &c.

The salary of M. Prinsen, one of the first masters in Holland, is 1,600 florins (£.134) per annum. To set this side by side with the enormous income of the ill-taught masters of many of the endowed schools in this country, and, if it were possible, the value and result of the services of the two, the comparison might appear preposterous and impossible. Normal schools in this country must be established on the most liberal principle. It may be a question if masters might not at first be sent to the Prussian normal or Dutch schools for two or three years, and thereby save the long arduous struggle with those difficulties which otherwise can be learned only by experience. The normal school of one country is as good a *dépôt* for the material in the art of teaching as any other, and might thus save all the labour of seeking for the best masters to start with, that, however good, must, from the nature of things, be very defective in the proper and genuine skill of the pedagogic art. The employment of a few of the masters from the foreign normal schools would be a great assistance, and necessary in the onset, if the education of the English in Prussia were deemed inexpedient.

The particular education of the educator forms the last and crowning obligation in the scheme of a national education. The importance of educating the educator is one of those trite and self-evident truisms which every body is thought to accede to and understand; yet, of all truths, that not one is less comprehended, is plainly shown, both by a personal and national application. The education of the educator involves no less than the religious, moral, intellectual, and physical character of man. To direct his faculties without embarrassing his reason, to amplify his self-love into universal philanthropy, to consolidate his affections into a profound contemplation and reverence of God; to teach this stupendous lesson to man, may seem to require the powers of a higher and spiritual intelligence, but happily illustrious examples among men are not wanting to encourage the fainting hopes of the timid. It is well that the standard of human excellence should be elevated; human imperfections and weakness may soon bring it low enough. "Education is to repair the ruin of our first parents." How inconceivably sublime does education appear, when represented in its own nature and purpose! The mere arithmetician, the classical scholar, or the political economist, may deprecate the epidemical contagion of such Utopian visions; but those most learned and conversant with the subject, both of times past and present, are all singularly practical in their dreams of educational reform. "The most immediate

and the most important aim of all instruction," says M. Cousin, "is to train up and complete the man, to ennoble his heart and character, to awaken the energies of his soul, and to render him, not only disposed, but able to fulfil his duties. In this view alone can knowledge and talents profit a man, otherwise instruction, working upon sterile memory and talents purely mechanical, can be of no high utility. In order that the teacher, and particularly the master of the primary school, may make his pupils virtuous and enlightened men, it is necessary he should be so himself. Thus, that the education of a normal school, essentially practical, may completely succeed, the young candidate must possess nobleness and purity of character, in the highest possible degree, the love of the true and beautiful, an active, penetrating mind, the utmost precision and clearness in narration and style." To accomplish this great object, what is the course of education first to be pursued?—the education of the educator. The detail of the education of schoolmasters must be classed under the following heads: 1st. Physical; 2nd. Religious and moral; 3rd. Intellectual (general); 4th. Professional (personal).

The *Physical Education* is, of course, placed first, because, without a bodily capacity and power, the master would be unfitted to fill the office of a teacher. Presuming the candidates are healthful at the time of their presentation, it becomes further important that each should receive a certificate of the physical condition and character of the parents and brothers and sisters, stating if subject to any hereditary disease, as consumption, asthma, insanity, gout, &c.; and if the family disease has been confined to the parents or extended to the children; also the general sanity of the candidates, so that they shall not get themselves *pretty well up* into *condition* for the occasion, and perhaps ever after lead a sickly feeble life; for of all labours there is not one which calls for more vigour of body than the labour of teaching, and is, moreover, so essential to the success of the scholars—for, whatever may be the cause, if the school discipline is not vigorously and vividly sustained, the scholars will soon relax into the dull sleepy pace of the master. The candidates should be sound in body and mind; and any deception that is after proved to have been exercised at their admission relative to this point, should be punished by sudden expulsion. Active health, a quickness of the senses, particularly of the eye, and a readiness of speech—not only no hesitation or stuttering, but an easy and fluent manner of expression—are absolutely necessary to the character of a good master. With good health comes cheerfulness,

the temper rises or falls with the pulse ; and the master who would feel with a child must feel as a child. Children are ready reckoners of the face, and a gloomy look, or an irritable mood, will in an instant break up their sports and gambols. Cheerfulness, though chiefly constitutional, is to be acquired by habit. Of course, this habit belongs to the moral training rather than to the physical organization ; but, whatever be the moral training, it is utterly impossible to feel and exhibit a cheerful temper with bodily infirmities. The sanitary condition of the scholars must be continually watched ; their relaxations should not be moralized too much.—It is desirable to train up a man, not only in the simplicity, but in the gaiety and vivacity of a youth. Speusippus, it is said, hung pictures of joy and gladness in the schools, meaning that education should be made a subject of pleasure. The moral certainly was directed more to the master than the scholars ; for could there be so bitter a satire as a picture of joy and gladness, with a living original of sadness and severity ? A cheerful teacher is the best picture to lighten the heart of a scholar. The usual amusements of the age should not, therefore, be laid aside for the enforced and formal practice of mere gymnastic exercises. The advanced age of the normal scholars, and the dignity and importance of their station and pursuits, may be apt to throw them into a sombre and grave state of mind, unless checked by those vivacious, yet manly sports and games, that contain just enough of emulation to keep up the interest. A periodical medical inspection of the sanitary state of the scholars would be advisable. The living should be plain, but as variable as convenient ; and the hours of meals regular and suited to their age. One thing the writer deems essential to their health and good morals—a total abstinence from all fermented drinks, wines, spirits, &c. Organic diseases, or, what is worse, permanent functional derangement, is chiefly brought on by the long insensible effects of stimulating drinks. As there is no rule so essential to health as temperance in all things, so there is no rule so essential to comfort and cheerfulness as exercise. Sound bodily and mental health are, therefore, the primary consideration in the choice and education of a normal scholar. But bodily health is the means, not the end ; it stands first in the order, but not in the dignity, of education.

Religious and Moral.—Though, strictly speaking, the moral is comprehended in the religious training, it might lead to some confusion to exclude the word *moral*, which, indeed, may be distinguished as the antecedent of religion, rather than religion itself.

The moral training must be supposed to have advanced and consolidated into a habit in the normal scholars, who will, of course, have received a primary education in the elementary schools. Through the moral inclinations to lead the mind to the consideration of religious truth, will be the fruition of moral training. But the *affections*, in their nurture and direction, also belong to the moral training, and constitute the principal feature in the character of a good master. Religion, even in its humility, is often severe; the very abasement of the soul before the tribunal of its own thoughts is apt to beget, in many persons, a grave austerity of manner, and, as far as man is concerned, a selfish isolation from the fellowship and sympathy of man—an anchoritish and ascetic disposition, that would be fatally prejudicial to the character of a teacher of youth. The nurture of the affections, or the moral training of the heart, is the chief part in the great business of education, and must be well understood, and deeply felt in the hearts of those who are to direct the dispositions and conduct of future generations. The partial loss, or rather induration, of the affections, in the progress from childhood to adult age, seems a natural change, adapted to the altered circumstances of mankind. However this may be, it forms no necessity in the life of an educator; the more of the childish simplicity and tenderness that can be retained, the better is he adapted for his duties; and, without this endowment of the heart, no practice of patience, no self-government, can fit him for the singular and exalted office of an educator.

One of the lessons taught by a selfish and sophisticated society, is indifference and insensibility: the heart is as a broken cistern, the spring of the affections are dried up, and the poison of asps is under the tongue. By this hardening of the heart, religion is robbed of its devotion and nature of its charms. It is the duty of the educator to work against this moral insanity; to raise up a new generation into a newness of heart; to go forth in their strength to contend against the giant-grown prejudices of past ages. To do this, the educator will require a love that hath no horizon; for no stretch of intelligence can of itself sustain the spirit under the burden of teaching. Without this exhaustless compassion, schoolmasters are but necessary evils. That ever-exercised critical discernment, which shall see through the intricacies and differences of the human mind, can be kept in flame only by the breadth of the affections, the pity of an unfathomable love. "The most important qualification required on his (Pestalozzi's) part was an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of human na-

ture, and of the laws by which it is governed, both in its internal development, and in its intercourse with the world." This passion of love is the spirit that moves and breaths over the incongruous elements of the human soul, imbuing them with its own essence into a joint affinity and concord. Love is the actuative element of religion. National schools cannot be the asylums of sectarianism or superstitions; but schoolmasters should be profoundly and impressively religious, transfusing into every heart a spirit and principle of devotion. "Man," says Harrington, "may rather be defined a religious than a rational character, in regard that in other creatures there may be something of reason, but there is nothing of religion."* To educate a man without religion is to withhold the title of his supremacy, and to degrade him to the nature of a mere rational animal. If philosophy be commensurate with time, religion exceeds time itself, and is, therefore, the only object competent to hope. Thus education, to be secure, must be based upon religion and morality; without their influence no success can be looked for, no national reformation in manners, no enlarged intelligence. "Religion is, in my eyes, the best, perhaps the only basis, of popular education. I know something of Europe, and never have I seen good schools where the spirit of christian charity is wanting. Primary instruction flourishes in three countries, Holland, Scotland, and Germany; in all, it is profoundly religious."† To lay down rules for the teaching of religion and morality would be uncalled for, and perhaps impossible, beyond those general principles which are obvious to every one. It is sufficient to know that religion cannot be taught by catechisms, nor morality by the rod, but must be communicated by the insensible operation of good impressions and cherished affections. The science of theology is the work of a maturer age. The teaching of religion and morals, in the normal school of Prussia, is very effective, including in the religious such instruction as is called for by a christian people, at the same time preserving to every individual their religious privileges. Thus, every pupil is expected to attend some place of worship; but no interference is used in the *choice*, which is left to the will of the scholars. In a christian country, such a rule is essential; for without the form and ceremonies of worship, religion would soon sink into a cold morality and caprice of feeling. The reading the New

* "We know, and it is our pride to know, that man is by his constitution a religious animal."—Buck's *Reflections*.

† Cousin's *Report*.

Testament, especially the Gospels, and by a judicious extemporaneous commentary upon the sublime morality and divine character of Christ—thereby leading the mind to a further examination of the truth—must necessarily be a prominent duty of the educator. Ecclesiastical history should be read and explained, and thereby the evils of bigotry and intolerance might be put in contrast with the principles of pure religion. But, whatever be the theological teaching, *opinions* should be carefully avoided, lest the scholars should acquire a disputatious and angry temper, that is little profitable either to religion or morality. The morality of the New Testament is the seal of every other impression ; morality in theory, therefore, is to be taught from its unsullied streams, and, with every instance in profane history, should be held up as the immutable referee of every principle of human conduct. After this manner should general literature and history be read ; for what is the purpose of history, if it be not to direct future generations in the course of virtue by an appeal to the life and experience of past ages ? Without this application, history is comparatively useless. To place in opposition with the conduct and precepts of the Exemplar of Mankind, the history of the wicked and the good, would be giving a striking prominence to virtue and vice ; in the contrast, human excellencies would be found impure, and those long-lauded virtues of heroic song that, Phaon-like, have concealed their natural ugliness under celestial charms, would be abhorred as exaggerated crimes. The murderers of classic history would no longer be mistaken for heroes, to the great bane of young and misguided youth. The subjects of philosophy and poetry would be cast into the contrast, and prove the essential moral and intellectual nature of each. The morality of the reader is the best censor of men and books, and will be sealed, not only in the title-page, but in every leaf and on every action of the author. To elevate the heart, and attune the feelings of the scholars to the “ Author of all Good,” is a part of the normal school discipline.

Music should, as in Prussia, form an essential part of the daily devotion. There is no accomplishment that would tend so much to the religious and moral improvement of this nation as a general cultivation and acquaintance with music. The English, more than any other people, are admirably constituted to be benefited by music ; for whereas other nations have arrived at a considerable perfection in this science, the English are comparatively strangers to it, and yet are particularly adapted, both by their devotional and reflective character, to enjoy music, not as a mere sensualism, but as

an intellectual thinking relation. The Prussian law makes it imperative that music should not only be taught to every scholar, but in every normal school is an organ, which is played at the morning and evening services. Religion is thus made (if it may be so expressed) a sensual pleasure, in keeping the soul and the affections in a state of mutual activity. A common participation in the same pleasure must have a beneficial effect, even upon their conduct to each other, and will strengthen that amenity and kindness which should distinguish them individually. A kind and affable conduct to each other is of vital importance in a normal school; it is, in fact, the practice of their character as schoolmasters. A rugged, cross, or irritable temper, is, therefore, utterly incompatible with the character of a scholar of a normal school: one ill-tempered youth is enough to disturb the serenity of a whole school. The natural temper and early training of the scholars is a matter of the first importance in their admission to the normal school, or there can be no dependence upon that general peace and cheerfulness of mind that should prevail in such a school. Among other necessary rules of good morals, cleanliness and order should not be left to the mere chance of inclination. These are little matters that point to great results, and help to form that business-like habit which a diligent and conscientious master should possess.

Intellectual or Mental Training.—A good elementary education of the candidate for a normal school must, of course, be imperative; for it is not the business of a normal school to teach the elements of knowledge, but rather to perfect knowledge, and to acquire moral and professional training. Without a strict requirement as to the elementary education, much time would be lost, at the expense of the office. One bad and inefficient schoolmaster is more hurtful to society than a hundred ill-educated people; for he misgoverns and vitiates the whole school for perhaps half a century. It is vitally important that the early education should be good and complete with those who would become inmates of a normal school; if it be otherwise, it will become a mere asylum for indigency, and encourage every parent who has a sickly and silly son to make a schoolmaster of him. The primary education should, therefore, be sound and competent. The studies in the normal schools will be to realize what has already been learned, and to explain to the understanding what has been held in the memory. Thus, the rules of grammar should be explained by frequent and familiar examples, either in reading, writing, or speaking, making it an incidental rather than an isolated study. To read, write, and speak with per-

spicuity and elegance, is the object of grammar ; but this facility can be gained only by constant practice in the use of words. A verbal affluence will never be gained by rules of syntax or prosody ; speaking and writing must be long practised to become a property of easiness. To speak with ease and readiness is a most important accomplishment in a schoolmaster. What a quiet and graceful carriage is to the body, a smoothness of speech is to the mind, and infers a strength and harmony of the mental faculties that is highly favourable to the self-assurance and authority of a master. The practice of speaking on subjects of morality, literature, and scholastic points, before the whole school, would be highly beneficial. Short extemporaneous opinions and criticisms while reading in class, the writing of theses on various subjects, and a weekly periodical school-meeting, for the examination and discussion of such productions, would not only prompt the faculty of language, but would beget a spirit of emulation most advantageous to the progress of the scholars. The study of the classics and modern languages could not be generally recommended, but should be confined to the inclination and abilities of the pupil. It may be a question if the languages should not be reserved for one class of schools. The colleges, universities, and grammar schools, are, perhaps, sufficient to teach the classics to those whose circumstances and rank in life makes them independent of any kind of business : in the normal schools the classics should be kept in due restriction. A knowledge of the classics is very important to those whom fortune has placed in an independent state. The study of those ancient languages disciplines and refines the mind, and tends to impress most forcibly elevated thoughts and feelings in the spirit of youth. Even to professional men, a knowledge of Latin and Greek is very advisable ; for as the vast and increasing vocabulary of the sciences is derived from those tongues, without a tolerable knowledge of them the memory must be on the constant stretch to remember and distinguish the various terms, unavoidably occupying the mind with mere words, at a time when it should be left free to the consideration of the facts of science.

The study of the languages cannot be too much recommended, so that other and more necessary knowledge be not displaced. Even the predilection for the dead languages is innocent enough, if a national education gave to *all* the facility of acquiring them. The reverence in which they have been too long held is one of the prejudices of the "good old days," when learning was too uncommon not to be exclusive ; extend the suffrage, and the evil will be done

away. The study of common arithmetic will be essential to every scholar; also mental and slate calculation. The mathematics will necessarily form a part of the school plan, but always bearing a reference to the disposition and future locality of the pupil, whether in town or country. Drawing and perspective are highly useful, and in some degree necessary, to an educator, and will do much to assist him in the illustrative parts of teaching. A knowledge of history and geography, especially that of Great Britain, is essentially necessary, and might be studied together with a mutual advantage. The study of natural philosophy will, of course, form a part of the national education, and therefore of the normal schools.

Though the Prussian and German laws are very careful of the health of the scholars and masters, there appears to be a deficiency in the knowledge of physiology. It is not enough that anatomy in theory should be slightly taught; the great principles of organic life should be explained, and illustrated, as far as possible, by living examples. The nature and cause of disease should be made known; the action of different kinds of aliment on the body, the progress of growth, maturity, and decay; the nature of the muscles, nerves, and blood-vessels, and their intimate sympathies with the brain and mind. A man should, of all things, learn to understand himself, to control his appetites, for the highest of all reasons—his interest. He should understand the animal economy, and the relations of every law or function of life. A knowledge of himself, of his physical being, is a wisdom full of safety. Every man who is to become the guardian of youth should be imperatively and religiously taught somewhat of the science of physiology. The study of the sciences—as botany, geology, mineralogy, natural history—should be kept up as far as possible, without injury to the primary object of the school—the pædagogic art. The system in normal schools should be modified according to the locality and purposes of each. Urban normal schools should be suitable to the training of masters for the urban primary national schools, where, for the most part, would be taught the children of tradesmen, mechanics, and artisans; those, in fact, who in after life are to be employed in the arts and manufactures. In rural normal schools agriculture as a science (both in theory and practice) should be a principal study. The benefit of agricultural schools, both to the scholars and to the public, is eminently shown in the school of M. de Fellenberg, at Hofwyl.* Not only are the higher studies made

* The complete success of M. de Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl is now generally admitted. While the course of study is more complete than in

a part of the plan of education at Hofwyl, but are joined to the practical manual labour of agriculture, and so successfully that the pecuniary resources of the institution are daily increasing from the actual labours of the scholars ; while most important discoveries in agriculture are the frequent result of their experimenting.

The obstinate prejudices of farmers in this country is proverbial ; it is a frequent case that new and important improvements in the economy of money and labour are rejected by the farmer, whose only excuse for retaining the old method is that " his father did it before him : " this usually settles all controversy and conviction. Agriculture should, therefore, form a principal study in the rural normal schools ; for however slow the progress of discovery, the mind would at least acquire a susceptibility for experiment. The few industrial schools now in operation in this country, form no bad epitome of what a normal industrial school ought to be. Nothing would more tend to augment the resources of the farmer and the labourer than a theoretical and practical study of the science of agriculture. Among other studies in the normal school, general literature should not be altogether neglected. An acquaintance with the writings of good and learned men would quicken the intellectual dispositions of the scholar, and check the mere utilitarian spirit which a rigid school discipline, and a formal practical habit of teaching, might beget. It should never be forgotten that the schoolmaster is not educated for himself, but for the public ; all that he acquires is in lease, to revert with interest to the nation.

any schools in this country, manual labour in the field is daily carried on, not in a dull clownish way, but as practical experimentalists. Their whole life is a study, whether in the school-room or in the fields. " For instance, when the boys are employed in digging trenches to irrigate a meadow, and while directing the water along artificial meadows and round hills, so as to regulate the fall and distribute the moisture equally, they put each other in mind of what they have heard about the laws of hydraulics. When they clean a field of the stones turned up by the plough, and are directed to separate those which are calcareous, in order to be burned into lime, they *know* and *practice* the different tests by which their nature is ascertained, and can point out in the horizon the particular mountains which have furnished these various fragments." With all this attention to the rationale of their labours, the profit and loss is so nicely balanced that the farm (according to Mr. Curd, one of the commissioners appointed by the Swiss Diet to inquire into the agricultural establishment at Hofwyl) yields something more than 8½ per cent. interest, net of all charges. The reader will find a very interesting account of this establishment in the thirty-second volume of the *Edinburgh Review*. See also an account of the school of Lastidie, Cousin's *Report*, p. 171.

To excite the minds of the people to the exhaustless and refined pleasurable sensualism of literature, is a great object in national education ; to effect this, mere elementary studies must be lightened by works of imagination and taste. Next to religion, a book is the light of the poor man's house, the source of true independence and happiness of mind. A schoolmaster should, therefore, know how to mix together profit and delight, by a seasonable interchange of the duties and pleasures of learning.

The science of teaching, or *Professional Education*, is the ultimate object of normal schools. This study is of three kinds—the science of education or training ; the art of teaching ; and the theory or science of methods : distinguished in Germany by the terms *pædagogik*, *didaktik*, and *methodik*. The science of teaching is to be acquired by oral instruction, reading works on the subject of education, and, lastly, by teaching. When it is remembered that the object of normal schools is to send forth men as models and teachers of intelligence and goodness, through them to act upon the collective mind of a people, converting them into their own image and resemblance—a nation of masters and teachers—it will be readily conceived what kind of education an instructor should receive. The power of an educator does not rest in knowledge, however profound, nor in holiness of character, however exalted, but in the combination of knowledge and holiness, superadded to the faculty of governing and instructing the minds of youth. Lectures on *pædago-gy*, though necessarily forming a part of the science of educating, and works on education, though equally useful to sustain the vitality of the whole educative duties, are but means collateral to the great end of education. It is in the practice of teaching that the mystery lies, and to which the whole force and energy of the mind should be directed. The theory of educating is a fascinating study, connected as it is with so much that is dignified in purpose, and sublime in its future results. But, however truly described, the theory of education and the practice of teaching are strikingly dissimilar ; the exhausting monotonous labour, the discouragements and the failures of teaching, can be estimated only by a personal experience. To give up the refined pleasures of literature and science at an age when the mind is so far advanced in its acquirements as to feel no pain in the pursuit, and to retrace with wearied and incessant steps the same dull round of elementary knowledge ; to induce the dullness of some minds, and the pertinacity of others ; to correct the capricious dispositions and follies of childhood ; to inculcate and confirm principles of justice and mercy ; and after years of

toil, when the scholar has arrived at an age to appreciate these extraordinary efforts, and to manifest the first feelings of companionship, of gratitude, and love, to be taken away, and his place supplied by childhood, again to trace the same laborious ascent; is a sacrifice that can neither be estimated nor borne, but by those who have been trained by an early and long unbroken practice, and who are actuated by a religious sense of the responsibility of the office. But the duties of a teacher are too much for the individual, without the aid and encouragement of the legislature. Every normal school must have an elementary school attached, or in its vicinity: there the scholars must put in practice the theory they have learned; there they will not only gain a readiness in the art of communicating knowledge, but it will be a suitable school for the trial of their moral fortitude and affections. Uncorrupted by worldly influence and example, they will have to sustain no self-contentions with bad feelings and passions; every day will add to their knowledge and self-confidence; and while they will be enabled to contemplate in their future lives no harder task, their whole intellectual and moral being will be given unreservedly to the work.

The art of teaching will include not only a ready facility in communicating knowledge, but what is the best method (methodik) to be adopted in each study, and if one plan be better suited to the comprehension of the learner than another. The elementary pupil is to the normal scholar what the normal scholar is to the normal master; and all that he has to do is to transfer the advantages of his education to his pupil. That the scholars may be diligent in business, their energies should be prompted by the occasional presence of the inspector or members of the committee, and his ability as a teacher should be examined at stated times by a practical trial with the class. The normal scholars must be well instructed in the exercise of authority (governing); as inexperienced youths, they may at first carry their power a little too far, may forget the disparity of age, and feel impatient of the dullness of their pupils. This must be carefully checked, and will require no little attention on the part of the over-master; for occasional impatience will soon degenerate into habitual severity. They should be incessantly observant of the moral character and dispositions of the children they teach, that they may gain a quick perception of the differences in the mental apprehension and tempers, and thereby be the better enabled to adapt themselves to those differences, acquiring that easy

pliability of mind which is so admirable a faculty in a teacher. They should connect with the practice the theory of moral philosophy ; the mental faculties should be well understood, connecting this abstract reasoning with the facts of physiology, so that, as far as possible, to reconcile and explain those discrepancies of character which are presented, not only in different persons, but in each individual. This knowledge should naturally lead to a consideration of the nature of law and government of that invisible and irresistible power which, in acting, takes away the very will of resistance in minds prefigured to its influences. " We can be subdued (says the philosopher) by that alone which is analogous in kind to that by which we subdue ; it is the unconquerable law and basis of the will of the wise man, that a ' soft answer turneth away wrath : ' a faculty is appealed to in the moral being, which answers to that appeal before the mind is capable of consideration, the natural law of love associated with, and acting spontaneously with, the law of reason." This moral virtue should be the only and adequate coercion of an educator ; for " whips are not the cords of a man : human nature may be driven by them, but it must be *led* by sweeter and gentler ways." Let the young teachers be led to contemplate the characters of those good and illustrious men who have preceded them in the same office, and dignified it by their life and conduct ; let them be encouraged to aspire to the same excellence of character ; let them be taught to look upon their professions as transcendent in dignity, but awful in its responsibility ; and, finally, let them be instructed how personally to maintain the dignity and spirit of their office.

If the legislature and the nation dignify the office of the educator, it is his duty and interest personally to sustain and elevate that dignity. To attain this all-important end, the master should constantly bring before the mind of the young teachers the ultimate object of their labours. The more importance is attached to an object, the less danger is there of regarding it with indifference. Whatever is momentous must be interesting ; and what can be so momentous, next to the purpose of religion, as the restoration of the buried intellect of a people to the life and fruition of intelligence and virtue ? To aid this impression effectually, lectures should be given at least once every week, on the nature and duties of the offices ; and school conferences should be formed to keep alive these dispositions, and to prompt their individual interest in the best means to be adopted both in moral training and teaching.

At these school conferences, *written theses* should be read, after the same manner as at the conferences of the masters in Prussia.* Clergymen should make it a part of their duty, not only to inspect the state of the schools, but should publicly exhort both the masters and the scholars to the just fulfilment of their duties. These exhortations should be directed also to the people, that the spirit and dignity of the office might be sustained, and that they might mutually co-operate in the great work of education.

The interest of the individual should be so completely lost in that of the office, that every assistance and improvement may be freely communicated to all. Every thing they read, whether historical or literary, should be conducive to the all-important purpose of their office. If history be read, what can be a more powerful appeal to their sympathies and exertions? A succession of intrigues and crimes, of private feuds, factional animosities, and popular riots, and under all the poisonous fen of misery and vice, ignorance engendering error, and error superstition and tyranny, nourished with the blood of millions of human beings—can the spirit of the office derive no validity, no value from such reflections? If subjects of general literature be read, what can be a more effective stimulus to enthusiastic ardour of mind than the sublime truths of religion and philosophy, like the twin stars of the zodiac, transfusing their brightness into each other, into one unquenchable light; or what sensuality can compare with the pleasures of the mind, and the discursive activity of its faculties? Can they fail, by this reference to their own advantages and refined enjoyments, to contemplate the glory of their office, the infinite good it is their privilege to effect, in communicating the happiness they feel through their exertions to arouse the sleeping energies of a nation into an activity of intellect and goodness? They will compare the sad history of the past with the hopes and promises of the future; and while imagination expands the views, reason will assure its reality by the soundest principles of induction and experience. Superadded to all this, the minister of public instruction must require (as in Prussia) a yearly report of the state of the normal schools: without that liability, it is to be feared that many might degenerate into abuse, and the most rigid discipline fall to a mere lax formula. This report, sent in by the schoolmaster through the inspector or committee, should include both scholastic and domestic affairs, the order, discipline, moral condition and improvement of the scholars, changes of functionaries,

* See Cousin's *Report*.

domestic concerns, and also the state of the buildings, furniture library, &c.,* so that every defect may be remedied, and every necessary want supplied.

Such is a faint outline of what is required to realize the great end of a national education. The suffering, ignorance, and vices of the people of Great Britain, cry aloud for redress ; it is echoed back by the enthusiastic appeals of the learned and the good ; and yet is education a question of expediency. And with whom has this question arisen ? With men whose sacred calling should have made them to rejoice in the ameliorating tendencies of education, should have converted them from a spirit of rivalry to christian concession and encouragement. Let them turn to Holland and Germany for the expediency of a national education, and then enter into a comparison of the moral and intellectual character of the three kingdoms.

“ Lords and Commons of England, consider what nation it is whereof ye are the governors. A nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and discerning spirit ; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse ; not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. What wants there to such a towardsly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies ? ”

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON BISHOP BURNETT'S “ HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.”

(Continued from page 284, vol. 9).

It is the remark of Burnett respecting Henry, that “ it does not appear that cruelty was natural to him ; for in twenty-five years none had suffered for any crime against the state but Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. The former was prosecuted in obedience to his father's last command at his death : his severity to the other was imputed to the cardinal's malice. The proceedings were also legal.” Now, upon what pretext did Henry consign John

* See Cousin's *Report*.

de la Pole, the nephew of Edward IV., to the hands of the executioner, and by this cruel act show himself inaccessible to pity? Solely because it had been said that the people were so well affected to the house of York, as that they might take Edmund Pole out of the Tower, and set him up: it was thought that he should be dispatched out of the way: whereupon they cut off his head." This event occurred on the 30th of April, 1515; so early did Henry commence his deeds of blood.

We think, also, that Burnett's opinion is discernible in the following statement respecting Empson and Dudley, the notorious tools of his father's rapacity. "When they had thus fallen, many and great complaints came in from all parts against them; they also, apprehending the danger they were like to be in upon their master's death, had been practising with their partners to gather about them all the power they could bring together, whether to secure themselves from popular rage, or to make themselves considerable, or formidable to the new king."¹ Now, here we must either reject the presumption of unbiassed motives—we must repudiate the disposition of the historian to extenuate the despotism and tyranny early indicated by Henry—or else affirm that Burnett has not done his duty to the reader, by neglecting to apply his researches in this matter to their most effectual purpose, viz. by involving in much obscurity what appears to be the groundwork and realities of the case. Empson and Dudley were convicted before a jury of the charge of high treason, witnesses being easily found to depose that they had attempted to seize on London with an armed force, and to possess themselves of the government, upon the death of the late king. In consequence of this charge, the features of which are full of the grossest improbabilities, they were attainted in parliament,² which, on this occasion, was very willing to please the people. But though this bill of attainder passed the house of peers without a single dissentient voice,³ what inference of guilt can be drawn from this fact, when after these extortioners—"these ravening wolves," as Hall so justly designates them—had been brought to the scaffold by the heavy vengeance of the people, the sons of these culprits obtained a speedy reversal of the attainders?⁴ If Empson and Dudley could have entertained such extravagant intentions as they were accused of, their offspring

¹ History of the Reformation, vol. i, p. 3.

² See Hall, p. 306.

³ Lords' Journal, February 21, 1510.

⁴ Billa restit. pro heredibus Edmundi Dudley.—Lords' Journal.

would have been exposed to the special hatred of Henry, and not have been the objects of his bounty or clemency.⁵

Beyond a shadow of doubt, much of Burnett's leaning towards Henry arose from this monarch's exertions in support of the Reformation; but still his unflinching advocacy of him on occasions where the judgment of so many wise, learned, and honest men is against him, creates in us the unpleasant reflection that the ascertainment of truth, in order that the ends of historical justice might be satisfied, was but a secondary consideration to the framing a plausible apology for acts which, if they had been perpetrated by any other sovereign, he would probably have pencilled with the strongest colours of deformity. The false reasoning, for example, by which he attempts to reconcile us to the punishment of those who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, does violence to the common sense and common feelings of his readers. An aspirant for honest fame, such as Burnett was, should have been careful to set a mark of condemnation on this particular act, instead of insinuating that there was a colourable pretext for it. Like the mirage, however, of the Egyptian sands, such arguments as the following can only delude the imagination:—"The pope's power over the clergy was so absolute, and their dependence and obedience to him was so implicit, and the popish clergy had so great an interest in the superstitious multitude, that nothing but a stronger passion could either tame the clergy or quiet the people. If there had been the least hope of impunity, the last part of his reign would have been one continued rebellion; therefore, to prevent a more profusion of blood, it seemed necessary to execute laws severely in some particular instances."

In the page of modern history, we believe, it will be found that Henry was the first sovereign who caused the executioner to hold up the heads of those who had shared the fondest endearments of his marriage bed. The consigning his fifth wife to the scaffold, it has been argued by some, was justified, and even necessitated, by the considerations of private honour and public duty. But no moral writer is required to draw nicely the line of demarcation between right and wrong, before he can safely speak of the judicial murder of Queen Anne with horror and detestation, or pronounce it a deed which will damn the name of this monarch to all posterity, from its outraging those principles, the sacredness of which has been recognized by the whole civilized world. But though courts had not corrupted the

⁵ Empson's Petition, id. 14.

heart, or perverted the intellect of Burnett, yet has he told the story of Anne Boleyn (which is one full of dramatic interest), not only without the smallest warmth of narration, but in so cautious and apologetical a tone that, if he had not been laudably solicitous to vindicate her innocence by evidence which would bear the strictest scrutiny, one might be almost led to suppose that there was enough criminating matter in her behaviour to furnish her insulter and oppressor with the means of his own justification. A few words of generous compassion he might conscientiously have spared to the great patroness of reformation.⁶ It may, however, be said, that while we meet with no direct expression in Burnett of regret and indignation at the sufferings of the ill-fated woman, there is in the following brief but emphatic remark a more concentrated feeling of abomination of her destroyer than could be shown by the most studied invectives :—" But nothing did more evidently discover the secret cause of this queen's ruin, than the king's marrying Jane Seymour the day after her execution ;" and he might have added that, in the course of the day on which she was beheaded, the king, with a most infuriated contempt of humanity, appeared dressed in white. It would be uncandid and perhaps unjust, to assert that our historian's principles were not decidedly hostile to such iniquitous proceedings, but they were always modified in their application by a regard for Henry's character, otherwise it would be difficult to account for such remarks as these, with reference to a behaviour maintained at the expense of law, religion, and right feeling :—" That few attempt upon the chastity or make declarations of love to persons of so exalted a quality, except they see some invitations in their carriage : " and again, in allusion to Anne, he remarks that " her carriage had given just cause

⁶ From the zeal alone which the queen evinced in befriending those who promoted the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, her name deserves to be ranked among the list of reformers. In the following passage of a letter to Cromwell, Anne desires the good services of that minister in behalf of Richard Herman, who had been imprisoned at Antwerp by the orders of Cardinal Wolsey, " for nothing ells (as he affermethe)," says the queen, " but oonly for that he dyd, bothe with his goodis and pollicie, to his greate hurte and hynderans in this worlde, helpe to the setting of the Newe Testamente in Englysshe."—See Ellis's *Letters of English History*, vol. ii., p. 46. Her own copy of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Martin Emperour, anno M.D.XXXIV, is still extant among the books bequeathed, in 1779, to the British Museum, by the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode. It is upon vellum. Illuminated upon the gilding of the leaves, in a red letter, are the words, Anna, Regina Anglica.

of some jealousy, and that being the rage of man, it was no wonder if a king of his temper, conceiving it against one whom he had so signally obliged, was transported into unjustifiable excesses."

Now we cannot allow that these views are substantially correct, with reference to the actions of Anne. Admitting that perpetual restraint and vigilant attention to ceremonious observances are the most effectual safeguards of royal virtue, yet it by no means follows that Anne, though bred up in the frank familiarity of the French court, and fond of it as was natural to her age and lively disposition; addicted, also, to a love of romantic gallantry, and thus more often led to display the pleasing manners and easy affability of the woman, than the proud demeanour and unsocial dignity of the queen—had furnished any grounds for grave suspicion against her innocence. For Anne to be so vain as to allow her distinguished favourites to speak of her charms and accomplishments before her, may not be strictly defensible; but to intimate that these venial delinquencies justify, in the remotest degree, a pretence for her head being laid in the dust, is administering historical justice in a way little suited to make a right impression on the public mind. Because Anne joined heart and soul with the reformers of our church in sweeping away the old-established institutions of the country, her character has been traduced without measure and moderation by all popish historians. To the very last, Dr. Lingard brings against her virtuous reputation his bitter accusations and sceptical cavillings.⁷ Her guilt is plausibly

⁷ Upon no other authority than a letter of the French Ambassador, which scarcely amounts to hearsay, Dr. Lingard asserts that Henry had cohabited with Anne for three years, whereas we learn from one of the most authentic accounts, "that she only at the end yielded to give her consent of marriage to him, whom hardly any other was found able to keep their hold against."—See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 421-49. On a point where no direct proofs can be obtained, the next best criterion of historical truth is to be had in the circumstances of clear and substantial presumption. And these, we think, when blended together, must satisfy any man of moderate candour that the reputation of Anne is not impeachable, at least till the eve of her elevation. From an epistle of Cranmer, which has been published in the *Archæologia*, and in Ellis's *Letters on English History*, vol. ii, p. 34, it would appear that the archbishop believed Elizabeth to have been conceived as well as born in wedlock; while it is certain that no pregnancy took place till after the marriage—a circumstance which cannot be imputed to any infecundity in Anne, as she twice proved to be in that state "in which ladies wish to be who love their lords," within little more than two years after the period of her marriage. It, then, the solemnity of Henry's protestations to make her his wife as soon as he could procure his divorce, conjoined with his constant and familiar access to her society, and his personal attractions and

enough insinuated by him, from this among other facts, that while Mary no sooner ascended to the throne than she hastened to repeal the acts derogatory to the honour of Catharine, Elizabeth made no attempt to vindicate the memory of her mother; the proceedings were not reviewed, the act of attainder and divorce was not repealed. Anticipating doubts, objections, and enquiries of this sort, Burnett has thus replied to them:—"That it was the great wisdom of that time not to suffer such things to be called in question; since no wise government will admit of a debate about the clearness of the prince's title. For the very attempting to prove it weakens it more than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that queen" (speaking of Elizabeth) "and her great minister never to suffer any vindication or apology to be written. Some indiscretions could not be denied, and these would all have been caught hold of by the busy emissaries of Rome and Spain." These, no doubt, were the dictates of sound political wisdom, and Elizabeth reaped the fruits of them. But we are surprised that another and perhaps more admissible reason did not occur to the penetration of the bishop, for the silence of the queen on this delicate and important subject. If we are to credit traditionary accounts, but which, we are aware, often pass with men of judgment for nothing more than the lie of the day, Henry, at the final close of his life, ex-

accomplishments, threw her off her guard so far as to become his mistress before she was promoted to the honours of a wife and queen, her resistance must have ceased at the very end of their long courtship. Should it be said that Wolsey, in his confidential communications to his trusty servant Caven-
dish, characterized Anne as the "*night crow*, that cries ever in the king's ear against me," and therefore, from that emphatic expression, the loss of the most precious jewel of her sex is to be inferred, the obvious reply is, that the appellation of *night crow*, as here given, carries with it no other interpretation or meaning than what is simply descriptive of a bird of ill omen.

The owl shriek'd at thy birth—an evil sign;
The *night crow* cry'd, aboding luckless time."—*Henry VI*, part 3.

and such he might well term her, from the desire she so strongly manifested to perplex and defeat his maturest counsels. "Mistress Anne Boleyn," says Lord Herbert, "having learned from some of the king's wisest and gravest counsellors, divers malversations of the cardinal, was so far from disguising them that she even misrepresented his better actions."—*Life of Henry*, p. 289. We would say, then, upon this subject, that two things seem quite indisputable; first, that there was no stain upon the character of Anne till just before the period of her secret marriage with the king; and secondly, that Dr. Lingard has shown here that his heart was as ill-schooled as his head.

pressed the deepest contrition and remorse⁸ for having been the first sovereign of Europe who had condemned his innocent and highly accomplished queen to the block.⁹ Surely, then, the supposition is not

* "*Plusieurs Gentilshommes Anglois m'ont asseuré qu'il eut belle repentance des offenses par luy commises, estant a l'article de la mort : et entre les autres choses de l'injur et crime commise contre la dite Royne Anne de Boulan, faulsement vaincue et accusee de ce qu'on luy imposito.*"—*Cosmographie Universelle* De A. Thevet, Paris, 1575, tom. ii, p. 658.

° She was not only skilled in music and dancing, but her literary education appears to have been more complete and of a much higher order than was usually given, in those days to the younger daughters of families of rank.—See Lord Herbert, p. 285. We have, indeed, a remarkable proof of this last observation in Anne's memorable letter "from her doleful prison in the tower." It is, perhaps, not to be surpassed, for elegance and simplicity, by any composition extant of the same character in the English language. Dr. Lingard, however, professes to think that this letter is not authentic—that is to say, it is not the genuine production of the writer whose name it bears. "I have not noticed," says he: "Anne's letter to Henry, supposed to be written by her in the Tower, because there is no reason to believe it authentic. It is said to have been found among Cromwell's papers, but bears no resemblance to the queen's genuine letters in language, or spelling, or writing, or signature."—*Hist. of England*, vol. vi, p. 315, note 22. It will, however, require something more than these *ipse dixit* assertions to prove that the words which are here embodied in a written form are not solely and absolutely the words of Anne. Had any one assisted her in this beautiful letter, an air of artifice and study would have been substituted in the place of heart-touching earnestness and fervid intensity of feeling. True it is, that in her love-letters to the king, though very creditable to a young lady of the sixteenth century, we meet with no characteristic marks of this admirable composition. But the natural warmth of her temper, then under the influence of the strongest religious excitement, urged on by an over-ruling motive, burst forth into the most ardent and impassioned language; and lifted up, as it were, above herself, her diction rose to an elevation and dignity of style undiscoverable in her other speeches and letters, and only to be found in that short prayer which she uttered when the sentence of death was passed upon her:—"Oh! Father of Mankind—the way, the life, and the truth—thou knowest whether I have deserved this death!" Besides, she was too closely watched by her stern keeper, Sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, to allow of her being aided by a more experienced pen. The original is supposed to be no longer in existence, but the copy of it is believed to be in the handwriting of the latter part of Henry's reign. If it were not to fall into the reprehensible error of making the imagination the rule of our judgment, we should be almost tempted to infer that the internal feeling produced by the perusal of this celebrated epistle furnishes an additional proof of its being written only by Anne Boleyn. But, whatever judgment may be formed of this reasoning, it is manifest that the spirit of hostility evinced by Dr. Lingard, whenever he has occasion to mention her name, is of that rancorous sort that our sympathies become stronger on the side of this oppressed

improbable, that this wife-killing monster, conscious how utterly unfit the details of the official enquiry into the conduct of Anne were to meet the public eye—for, as an ancient chronicler observes, "she made such wise and discreet answers that she seemed fully to clear herself"—should have determined, in his dread of posthumous infamy, to put an effectual stop to all further investigation of this matter, by destroying the judicial documents of the trial. The attempt to explain the motives of action of a prince, and he of the most capricious mind, who one day pardoned and another destroyed, without law, beyond law, and against law, and who lived three centuries ago, may be thought chargeable with the highest absurdity. But without drawing the foregoing conclusion, it would be difficult to believe that Elizabeth had not entertained some secret misgivings respecting her mother's innocence.

The unbiassed reader, probably, will concur with us, that Burnett has betrayed a considerable want of candour in his delineation of the character of Cardinal Wolsey. For, however historians may be at issue concerning his general conduct, yet they cannot but agree with respect to his fitness to govern a state, and direct its affairs prosperously and gloriously.¹⁰ By most English imaginations, the cardinal

and calumniated lady. "Her fall," says Bishop Godwin, "was imputed to the treacherous calumnies of the malicious popelings; and nearly three generations have now passed away without taking off the edge of their hatred to her name."

¹⁰ The sentiments of a judicious stranger, who has opportunities of studying the character of the leading personages of the court to which he resorts, are of more value than whole pages of inflated panegyric or violent invective. The following account of "this great child of honour," Wolsey, is very discriminating, though evidently there is a reluctant effort in the mind of the observer to admit that he was as superior in abilities as in authority to the rest of Henry's ministers. After allowing that the king's conduct was still more self-willed and outrageous upon the death of the cardinal, the writer thus proceeds:—"So this was the end of this poor, overweening, presumptuous Cardinal Wolsey, who thought that his power exceeded that of every man, and that his fortunes were exposed to no change—so highly was he elated by his too arrogant opinions. Would we, however, judge him with due reference to all his qualities, we must confess that he was wanting neither in understanding nor penetration, nor in other qualities requisite in so exalted a situation. He possessed prudence and liveliness of intellect, strength and energy enough to go to the bottom of all public affairs; and conducted them all with such success that no state was richer and more flourishing than England, no king more respected than Henry VIII, so long as the cardinal was at the head of affairs. Twice he decided on the differences between the emperor and the king of France, and was paid court to by the ministers of both

will be ranked among the greatest ministers which this country has ever produced. Thoroughly conversant with the internal affairs of the continental nations, his spirit may be said to have presided over their politics; and it was the wisdom of his government to maintain the balance of power between Austria and France, and to place his sovereign in such a commanding attitude as to be recognised as the arbiter of Europe. The league of 1518, concluded at Greenwich, has been considered a model for all treaties of peace. To render law cheap, expeditious, and effectual, this great man, when chancellor, established courts of requests, and to him England is indebted for a regular system in the administration of justice; while he instituted a general legantine visitation for the purpose of reforming abuses. His love and encouragement of letters are amply attested by his munificent endowments at Ipswich and Oxford. Medical science, also, found in him a liberal patron; through his all-powerful influence with Henry, the present College of Physicians was established. Greater claims, too, had Wolsey, than any former minister, to a knowledge of political economy. Nor should it be forgotten, in the mention of his admirable capacity for the business of government, that, by directing Henry's attention to his navy, he laid the foundation of that maritime and commercial greatness, and of that colonial empire, which, in a more advanced period of national progress, was to obtain for this country a proud pre-eminence over every other nation on the face of the globe. Such a minister was Cardinal Wolsey, with all his exorbitant lust of personal aggrandizement.¹¹

those sovereigns, as if they had been servants of the king of England, and every one sought to conciliate him with a view of gaining his own ends. In proof of his pride it is related, that he caused himself to be served upon the knee by English lords and allowed himself the use of haughty and contemptuous language towards foreign ambassadors. It is certain that all on their return home, spoke of the pomp and the glory as well as of the pride and arrogance of the Cardinal of York."—See MSS. de St. Germain de Près, vol. 740, in Lord Francis Egerton's Translation of the History of the XVI and XVII centuries, by Raumer, vol ii, p. 62-3.

¹¹ Mr. Custance, in his Popular Survey of the Reformation, is ever unwilling to allow him the possession of a single good or great quality. "His pride and licentiousness stifled totally every virtuous and patriotic feeling in his mind."—p. 122. As blind prejudice so often heaps inconsistent accusations, this hater of the cardinal says, upon the authority of Burnett, that Wolsey, with a profaneness truly shocking, declared that he *preferred* the king's favour to that of Almighty God; whereas his real words are these:—"This is the just reward of my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince."

But our historian has dealt hard measure with him from the outset to the close of his splendid career. He begins by telling us, in reference to his rise, "that all foreign treaties and places of trust at home were at his ordering; he did what he pleased." Now, though Henry had made him "the prime man of the state," and he thus became the life and soul of every grand transaction that engaged the attention of the sovereigns of Christendom, yet we must not suppose, however it might gratify the pride of the English monarch that foreign potentates should admire the genius of his minister, that he indolently threw the reins of government into his hands, and suffered him to do, as Burnett says, "what he pleased:" for we shall find in the correspondence between the king and Wolsey in the state papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's commission, that most of the cardinal's plans of policy, whether domestic or foreign, underwent a grave deliberation, and were sometimes rejected, by the king; or his favourite views and wishes were sometimes thwarted by him. For instance, against the advice of his minister, Henry appointed Lord Essex to the command of the corps of archers, at the head of which Wolsey proposed to march with his cross.

According to Burnett's account, the cardinal, as a churchman, was a disgrace to his profession. Yet he admits that, "though Wolsey judged cardinals as princes of the church, and therefore not to be comprehended within ordinary ecclesiastical laws, it was his design to reform the inferior clergy by all the means he could think of; and to visit the several monasteries of England, that in discovering their corruptions he might the better justify the intention he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into bishopricks, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and colleges." Of the general complexion of his religious feelings and opinions, if we are to give implicit credit to the bishop, we shall find it hard to point out "any thing commendable in them;" but such sentences as the following are worthy and noble manifestations of a great and pious mind:—"Herein to say the truth, and to acquit myself of my duty and most tender zeal towards his holiness, I cannot see how it may stand with the pleasure of the Almighty God, that the heads of the church should thus involve and mix themselves and the state, by conjunction, into temporal princes in the wars; but that, as I verily suppose, since the leagues offensive and defensive, or both, have been used to be made in the name of the pope, God has stricken and sent affliction to the holy church."

We again quote from Burnett. "They" (the bishops of Winchester and Rochester) "both hated the cardinal. The one thought him

ungrateful to him who had raised him ; the other, being a man of a strict life, hated him for his vices." But here, also, our historian's prejudices against Wolsey have led him astray, or his deep and laborious researches have not been well directed. From the following interesting passage in a letter of the bishop of Winchester to the cardinal, it will appear that it was not the ingratitude of the favourite which urged him to withdraw from the court, but a deep conviction of his own sinfulness in not having devoted his best powers to the faithful discharge of his episcopal duties. "Truely, my singular good lord, syns the kynge's grace lycenced me to remayne in my chyrche, and thereabowts uppon my cure, wherein I have been almost by the space of xxx yeres so neglgen, that of iiij severall cathedral chyrches that I have successively had, there be two—scilicet, Excestre and Wellys—that I never see, and innumerable sowls whereof I never see the bodyes : and specially sins by hys licence I left the keypyng of hys privy seale, and most specially sens my last departyng fro your good lordship and the counsell, I have determyned, and, betwixt God and me, utterly renouncyed the medlyng with worldly maters ; specially concernyng the werre or any thing to it apperteignyng (whereof, for the many intollerable enormytes that I have seen ensue by the said werre in tyme past, I have *noo littel remorse* in my conscience) ; thynkyng that if I dyd contynuall penance for it all dayes of my lyfe, though I should lyfe xx yeres longer than I may doo, I could not yit make sufficient recompense therefor."

In the following statement, how perceptible is the wish to convict Wolsey of greedy ambition and intolerable pride ! when a fair examination of the facts would have forced Burnett to come to a very different conclusion :—"Warham was lord chancellor the first seven years of the king's reign, but retired to give place to this aspiring favourite, *who had a mind to the great seal*,¹² that there might be no interfering between the legatine and chancery courts. And perhaps it wrought somewhat upon his vanity, that, even after he was cardinal, Warham, as lord chancellor, took place of him." Now, from high authorities, we learn that the archbishop had long been desirous to resign the seals, and to devote himself solely to the discharge of his episcopal functions ; and that Henry, being satisfied of the reasonableness of this wish, willingly acquiesced in it. But when Wolsey was

¹² Lord Herbert, for instance, informs us "that William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, resigning to the king *voluntarily* the place of lord chancellor, and retiring himself from court by reason of his age to a private life, that place was conferred upon Wolsey."—Hist. of Henry VIII, p. 57.

invited by the king to accept the vacant post, he manifested the utmost reluctance; nor till Henry had reiterated his solicitations, could he be prevailed upon to undertake that office, in which he conducted himself in a most praiseworthy manner; for his excellent capacity supplied the place of experience and study; and his decisions, being uninfluenced by others, for their equity and judgment, were highly commended by his contemporaries. He is said, by his biographer, "to have spared neither high nor low, but to have judged every estate according to their merits and deserts."

The commendation bestowed on him, "that he spared neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to their merits or deserts," would justify us in asserting that to a great statesman he added the still rarer one of an upright judge. The undiscovered virtues of punishing the powerful oppressor, and protecting the poor man, were practised by him, even from the admission of Hall, who is always disposed to take a part against "the great cardinal." Most contemporary writers seem to think that this bold minister's haughty self-estimation and proportionate contempt of others, extinguished in him all the affections of benevolence and sympathy. These feelings may not have been lasting or intense in one who was so pampered with the gifts of fortune, yet he gave several notable proofs in the course of his brilliant career, and when placed on the summit of society, that he was possessed of those dispositions which are the most effectual motives to kind actions. Upon some men of Suffolk¹³—Wolsey's native county, and to which he had always the bias of attachment—being brought before the council of the star chamber for obstructing the commissioners sent throughout the kingdom to exact benevolences from the people, the king's attorney, when they had received pardon for their offence, asked surety for the future good bearing of the prisoners. They answered, that they could find none. Immediately the cardinal said, "I will be one, because you are my countrymen; and my Lorde of Norfolk will be another." The prisoners were then discharged, and money given them for their conveyance home. Some, no doubt, will consider this conduct of Wolsey as a contrivance to make himself popular with the lower order of the people; but surely, without any great stretch of liberality, we may believe that he had something better in view than the momentary plaudits of the giddy and unthinking multitude.

The strong original tendencies to pride and self-exultation in the

¹³ See Lands. M.S., No. 639; p. 117.

character of Wolsey are described, by Burnett, as being exchanged, in his *fall*, for the meanest submission, or the most pusillanimous despondency. "As he had carried his greatness with most extravagant pride, so he was no less basely *cast down* with his misfortune; and having no ballast within himself, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up or cast down as the scales of fortune turned." To a mind so imperious, scornful, and unschooled in humiliation—"for I assure you," says Cavendish, "that in his time, he was the highest man, in all his proceedings, alive,"—the sudden fall "from his high estate" was quite enough to *unman* him, as it were; though it must be acknowledged, that his want of fortitude and equanimity on this trying occasion, has sunk his character greatly in the estimation of posterity. One solitary instance we have, of his fainting energies—of displaying a courage and dignity of soul worthy of his former greatness—it was a palpable act of injustice in Burnett not to have recorded, as it is to be found in the popular work of our martyrologist. Upon master Shelley, one of the judges of the common pleas, bluntly demanding of him, in behalf of the king, the surrendering up of York Palace, Wolsey properly urged that it was not appropriated to his own use, but pertained to his see, and therefore such yielding upon his part would be, as it were, a "departure with another's rights for ever." Shelley told him that his highness had "sent for all the judges, and for all his learned counsel, *in whose determinations it was fully resolved that his grace should recognise before a judge the right thereof to be in the king and his successors.*" "Master Shelley," quoth he, "ye shall make report to the king's highness that I am his obedient subject, and faithfull chaplain and beadman, whose royal commandment and request I will in no wise disobey, but most gladly fulfil and accomplish his princely will and pleasure in all things; and in especial in this matter, inasmuch as ye, the fathers of the laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore I charge *your conscience*, and discharge mine. Howbeit, I pray you, *show His Majesty from me that I most humbly desire His Highness to call to his most gracious remembrance that there is both Heaven and Hell.*" And therewith the clerk was called, who wrote my lord's recognizance."

In the forty-four articles of impeachment against Wolsey, which Lord Herbert has printed in his History, it might be supposed, from the mode in which they are spoken of by Burnett, that every charge was duly substantiated; but that this is not a justifiable inference is evident from this circumstance alone, that the bill of impeachment,

signed by fourteen peers and the law officers of the crown, was actually thrown out by the House of Commons. In reference to its contents, Wolsey uses these expressions :—" Whereof a great part may be untrue, and those which be true are of such sort that by the doing thereof no malice or untruth can be arrected unto me, neither to the prince's person, nor to the realm." Lord Herbert, indeed, is disposed to think that no man ever fell from so high a station who had so few real crimes objected to him. Perhaps, in this opinion, he may show too much indulgence to the cardinal. Yet the rejection of the various articles of accusation by a House of Common whose slavish prostration of mind to Henry is so perfectly notorious, must be interpreted into no mean proof of his innocence ; for the eagerness with which the king joined with the cardinal's enemies to destroy him, will appear from the fact that, when the plan of parliamentary impeachment miscarried, Henry assailed him, with consummate injustice, upon the celebrated statute of provisors : for that this indictment was subsequent to the attack in parliament is placed beyond dispute by Cavendish, and by the articles of impeachment themselves.

We will now say a few words upon our historian's marked predilection for that bold and highly-talented plebeian, Cromwell, who, from the humblest beginnings, rose not only to be the first minister of state, but to possess the same paramount influence with Henry in the management of all affairs as Wolsey had done : and whose sudden exaltation, like that of the cardinal, must have provoked the great but ignorant¹⁴ nobles of the land to the bitterest wrath and jealousy, on beholding the son of a tailor or blacksmith so intimate with their dread autocrat, that an eye-witness of their daily intercourse has said, " I have seen him as familiar with the king as though he had been of his blood."

But though Cromwell was endued with great talents for business ; though his shrewdness, quickness, self-possession, determined mind, and intensity of purpose, and that species of insensibility which allows

¹⁴ "A nobleman about the court having said to Mr. Pace, one of the secretaries to King Henry VIII., that it was enough for noblemen's sons to wind their horn and to carry their hawk fair, and to leave study and learning to the children of meaner brethren, Mr. Pace replied, "Then his lordship and the rest of the noblemen must be content to leave unto the sons of meaner persons the managing of affairs of estate, when their own children please themselves with winding their horns and managing their hawks, and other follies of the country."—Camden's Remains. No wonder that in those days it was the complaint of the proud Buckingham, "that a beggar's book outweighed the blood of a noble."

no compunctious visitings, no laws of conscience, to prevent the stroke of ambition ; and that subtlety in his understanding which, had Providence cast his birth in later days, would have made him a prime disciple of the famous Jurist Barbeyrac—whose doctrine it was, that we may feign or dissemble as our lawful interest may demand—though these several combined qualities enabled him, soon after he had set his foot over the threshold of the court, to become the first person in it, yet we cannot recognise the propriety of Burnett styling him a *great* man. For we must look for higher qualities than aptitude of parts for government—for some grand capabilities in the range of the mind—before we can admit this. Perfectly true it was, that Cromwell reformed the religious institutions of the state. The obligations, for instance, we owe him as the originator of that truly valuable improvement, the institution of parish registers, ought never to be forgotten ; nevertheless, all his aims and designs to serve his country centered in self—the sole concern of little men. The regulating principle, the fundamental rule of all his doings, was his own personal aggrandizement. There might be a masculine strength of intellect in him, but there was no manly fortitude of virtue. He had no moral qualities of genius, no bursts of an elevated spirit ; and as for that noble moral enthusiasm which aspires only to the honest eulogy of posterity—to be named with glory in the page of history—such throbs and throes of the patriot heart were no more to be expected from the course of his action, than that traces should be found, among his stern and crafty memoranda, of a hymn composed to fame or liberty.

The advice of Cromwell to Henry, to snap asunder the papal chains by declaring himself the head of the church within his own realm, has no doubt rendered his name a great favorite with most protestant annalists. In these feelings of partiality, Burnett has largely shared. But whether the zealous part he took in the reformation originated from motives of ambition or faction, or from sincere attachment to the cause, is a problem difficult of solution ; because his concurrence in all the persecutions against the protestants would seem to imply his ready conformity to any system of doctrine and discipline, which most promoted his own immediate and private advantage. His cupidity, his tyranny, and oppression, his eagerness to overwhelm the defenceless, are now made clear and manifest by Sir Henry Ellis's publication of his short notes, or remembrances to guide his memory when he attended the king or the council."

With respect to his noble and disinterested conduct, as Burnett

styles it, to the fallen and disgraced cardinal, all his gratitude may be said to have merged into policy. He was a sordid and selfish calculator. His support¹⁵ of Wolsey went no further, as Sir Henry Ellis justly observes, "than a given point." When he saw that the ruin of that minister was resolved upon, he seized the opportunity to raise himself, to make his fall the stepping-stone to power. After he had delivered to Wolsey the thousand pounds from the king to pay the expenses of his journey to the north, he seems to have done no more for him. "We have no mention of Cromwell," says Sir Henry Ellis, "when the cardinal was ordered to London to take his trial, none upon his journey, none in his last moments; nor have we any subsequent introduction of the name of Wolsey by the vicar general, except in the single instance of the dialogue at Archbishop Cranmer's table, when Cromwell declared that he was never so far in love with Wolsey as to have waited on him to Rome if he had been chosen pope." As our belief, then, on the devotedness of his affection to Wolsey must rest upon no better proof than on Shakspeare's play of Henry the Eighth, so the celebrated story related by Burnett of Cromwell's meeting a Lucqueze merchant in the streets of London, who, whilst abroad, had rendered him substantial good offices when he most needed them, and generously reinstating him in his former opulence, upon the discovery of his being reduced to the greatest want, can find no more satisfactory authority than a novel of Bandello. Cromwell's own language may assure us of his preference of a tyrannical administration of government to a constitutional one, when he proposed to Henry to apply the brack—a species of rack—¹⁶ to a state delinquent. "We cannot, as yet, get the pith of his cre-

¹⁵ His cravings for pecuniary gain were such as to render him not at all nice or particular about extracting them from the pockets even of his protestant friends. When the venerable Latimer wrote to him to pray that the priory of Great Malvern might be spared, he offered five hundred marks for the king's favour, and two hundred for that of his own.—See Strype's Eccles. Mem., vol. i., p. 339.

¹⁶ Fortescue, who was successively lord chief justice and lord chancellor of England in the reign of Henry VI., declared the use of torture to be in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the law of England, and considered the practice of it the high road to hell. "*Vere non lex Ritus talis esse perhibetur, sed potius semita ipsa est ad Gehennam.*"—*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, cap. xxii. Yet we know, from the registers of the proceedings of the privy council, that the practice of torture was common in the reign of the Tudors, while nothing can show in a stronger light the propensity of Cromwell to an arbitrary, unconstitutional system of government, than the above proposition to Henry.

dence; whereby I am advised to-morrowe ones go to the Tower and see him sett in the *Bracks*, and by torment compelled to confesse the truth." But if there could be a doubt of his willingness to be the remorseless agent of evil for the benefit of his ruler, his conduct to the heroic Countess of Salisbury would be quite sufficient to put this point beyond all question. As a preliminary step for persecuting her with a devilish¹⁷ craft and zeal, he sent for the judges, and gravely intimated his wishes to be informed whether Parliament might condemn an accused person without giving a hearing. Accustomed as they had been to his daring innovations upon legal rights, they at first shrunk from this; but afterwards this serious feeling of alarm gave way to the more threatening danger of their own imprisonment; and they framed such an answer, that the unscrupulous and subservient parliament determined that a bill of attainder might be passed without the formality of a previous trial: in consequence of which, the countess was found guilty of treason, and committed to the Tower.

When Burnett laments the hard fate of Cromwell, in being condemned without trial, examination, or evidence, at the same time he should have recollected that to this victim of flagrant injustice we are indebted for those bills which created such an abundance of constructive treasons; and for the invention of attainting persons (*already in prison*) by parliament, without bringing them to trial. Not all Cromwell's merits, therefore, in contributing so materially to the reformation—merits to be measured by a very high standard, with reference to his management of an imperious and capricious temper like Henry's—can compensate for his introduction of that detestable bill, under which, by a striking instance of retributive justice,¹⁸ he was the first to suffer death. How dreadful must have been the remorse,

¹⁷ Archbishop Parker, in characterizing these three eminent men, More, Gardiner, and Cromwell, observes, *Morus Gardinero doctior eoque Gardinerus juris peritior fuit, at Cromwellus prudentior and atque sanctor.*—*De Antiq. Brit. Eccles.*, 467. We should have thought the latter epithet more applicable to More than to Cromwell.

¹⁸ In order to justify his condemnation as a traitor, it was urged against him that he had drawn out his dagger, whilst privately conversing on the new learning, and declared that, if it were necessary, he would maintain the cause of the Reformation, sword in hand, against Henry himself.—See Carte, vol. iii., p. 157. A charge this, too absurd to impose even upon the most credulous. A more probable one was, "that he had misconducted himself in his office of vicegerent, and had screened heretics from punishment, and had written to the sheriffs to set them at liberty upon a false suggestion of an order from the king."—See Collyer's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 176.

or how strong the desire of life in this satellite of absolutism, when he remonstrated, in a passage of the letter which he addressed from the Tower to his inexorable judge, against his own bill of attainder ! This passage Burnett, with an inexcusable heedlessness, has overlooked, or perhaps intentionally suppressed, from a reluctance to show Cromwell's exceeding baseness.

The excessive praises of Edward the Sixth are not conducive to the reputation of Burnett, as a judicious and impartial historian. But there is a powerful spell in names : and that of the first protestant king of this country must be pleaded in extenuation of expressions too little consonant with the spirit of wisdom and virtue. That the youthful prince outstripped other boys of his own age in the race of learning, is a point which the well-authenticated statements of his early diligence, his inclination to letters, and his seriousness of disposition, abundantly confirm. But that the dawn of his intellect surpassed the meridian of others, and that grey-headed statesmen, ripe scholars, and deep divines, quailed before the boy-king, is to suppose, with Cardan,¹⁹ his acquisitions almost miraculous. References certainly may be made to his metrical instructions respecting the Eucharist, and to his comedy called "the Whore of Babylon," for evidence of the precocity of his talents, or for a proof that, at least, he possessed a great facility of stringing together words and sentences.²⁰ Burnett tells us he was so forward in his learning that before he was eight years old he wrote Latin letters to his father, "who was a prince of that stern severity that one can hardly think those about his son durst cheat him by making letters for him." The difficulty, however, of believing this is insuperable, nursed and fed as he was upon Latin. How thoroughly imbued with partiality must that historian be who asserts that, without the assistance and corrections of his preceptors, a prince of Edward's tender years, could pen epistles in the Latin tongue, interlarded with quotations from Erasmus, Job,

¹⁹ This celebrated Italian philosopher calls him, in his *Opuscula*, Bas., 1559, fol., p. 14, *monstrificus puellus* ; and when we remember that this eccentric genius professed the Romish religion, his partiality is certainly rendered the less suspicious from that very circumstance.—See lib. xii. *De Genituris* : and printed by Burnett in his *Coll. ii., i., Hist. Reform.*

²⁰ In these performances, we find only indications of much controversial bitterness, and no promise of poetical excellence. The first piece, says Fox, was addressed to Sir Anthony St. Leger, but the other, though expressly stated to have been the production of this extraordinary boy, is attributed by Park to Decker.—See note to Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. iv., p. 18, 19.

Solomon, Ludovicus, Vives, St. Paul, Horace, Cicero, and Aristippus!²¹ Admiration of this brilliant meteor, that blazed for so short a time above the horizon of history, has led Burnett to assure us "that Edward had studied the matter of the mint, with the exchange and value of money, so that he understood it well, as appears by his journal. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports, both of his own dominions and of France and Scotland, and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired great knowledge in foreign affairs, so that he talked with the ambassadors about them in such a manner that they filled all the world with the highest opinion of him that was possible, which appears in most of the histories of that age." From this first sentence, it might almost be imagined that Edward was capable of expounding the doctrines of political economy; and from the concluding one we are required to believe that a boy of fourteen could speak upon subjects of foreign policy like a man of business and an orator: a supposition which would be hyperbolic even

²¹ We have had, certainly, very surprising instances of juvenile acquirement of languages. William Wotton, who so distinguished himself by his book on ancient and modern learning, when a boy, could readily translate Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. This he could do in his sixth year; and at thirteen he was acquainted with *twelve* languages.—See Monk's *Life of Bentley*, vol. i., p. 9, 10. It is curious, however, that while Burnett is so positive respecting the astonishing proficiency of Edward in classical learning, he should have been so sceptical about Catharine Parr's scholar-like attainments, as only to infer her knowledge of Latin from the fact of the young king addressing her, letter by letter, in that language. But the bishop is in error here; for Strype has printed a Latin epistle of that queen to the Princess Mary. The opinion of the retainer and biographer of Wolsey respecting Edward is unquestionably entitled to much value: first, because it was delivered after Edward's death; and secondly, because Cavendish, being a staunch Roman catholic, was not likely to run off into extravagant misrepresentations or conclusions in describing the beauties either of the reforming prince's person or mind. Yet hear his uncouth laudatory rhymes:—

"In connyng and wisdome Solomon's right heyer,
His wytt was so excellent, his sentence so profound.
Absolon in beawtie, his visage was fayer;
If he myght have lyved, there should not have been found,
A prince more excellent rayning on the ground."

Metrical Visions.

When enlightened foreigners who had visited the court of Edward were likewise so loud in his praises, posterity will hardly accuse his subjects of adulation.—See the account of the young king in the Florentine Petruccio Ubaldini's description of England in the year 1551; Raumer, vol. ii., p. 71.

to extravagance. This journal is certainly written with a clearness, simplicity, and precision, which bespeak those comprehensive talents that are not to be expected in a stripling. His letters, also, to his young friend, Barnaby Fitzpatrick, contain another example of the forwardness of the mental faculty. There is strong presumption, however, that the letter which he addressed to his sister Mary, exhorting her to abjure the errors of popery, was not his own production ; since the princess could not help exclaiming, as she read it, " Ah ! Mr. Cecil's pen has taken great pains here." Referring, again, to Edward's journal, we would say, in the temper of reprehension, that, if it be really his own composition, Burnett's humanity ought to have been shocked at the want of goodness and gentleness in it. Without a pang or sigh, this young prince could consign an uncle to the scaffold, whose only fault seems to have been that he wished to make himself the guardian of his crown and person in the room of his brother, and to whose decapitation he thus most unfeelingly alluded in his journal :—" The Lord Sudley, admiral of England, was condemned to death, and died in March ensuing." Two more passages in this celebrated diary give evidence that the heart of this young logician and theologian was but little alive to right notions on the destruction of human life :—" A certain Arian of the strangers, a Dutchman, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was, after long examination, condemned to the fire."—" The Duke of Somerset" (his other uncle) " had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock." This unconcern about those executions, to borrow an expression of Mr. Hallam's, " betokens the young prince to have had too much Tudor blood in his veins." But, though we cannot echo all Burnett's praises²² of this precocious boy, that he was a youth of great promise is put out of all dispute by many contemporaneous testimonies. Old Latimer, whose temper was little disposed to flatter kings, allowed this unqualified panegyric to fall from his lips :—" His majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge, at this age, than twenty of his progenitors I could name had at any time of his

²² Burnett paints him *en beau* : but Collyer, perhaps, more to the life when he says, " his conscience was not always under a serviceable direction ; he was tinctured with Erastian principles, and under wrong impressions as to church government. He seems to have had no notion of sacrilege, and—what is somewhat remarkable—most of the hardships were put upon ecclesiastics in the latter end of his reign, when his judgment was in the best condition.—p. 331.

life." The boy who, from a single hint thrown out in a sermon on charity by another prelate, could meditate those glorious institutions of his reign, the foundation of Christ's Hospital for the education of poor children, of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew for the relief of the sick, and Bridewell for a penitentiary,²³ must have been possessed of some of the exalted qualities of a patriot and a true Christian.

Detesting, as we do, so much of the conduct of Mary, yet we cannot help remarking that Burnett has drawn such an appalling picture of her superstition and cruelty, that his account of this queen would justify the belief that, among other disgusting singularities connected with her character, was a keen relish for cutting off her subject's heads, and for converting her palaces into human slaughter-houses.²⁴ Now it is well known that the temper of the people whom she ruled had become so violent, by the religious and political crisis of the preceding reign, that nothing short of her adherence to the new religion would conciliate and satisfy them. Mary, however, having the taint of intolerance so deeply in her—which taint, be it remarked, her protestant opponents fully shared—of course, was not prepared to please them so far as to renounce what she felt not merely rested upon authority and presumption, but what had been inculcated upon her by education, and had been established by law. It is not difficult, then, to imagine her holding the opinion in perfect sincerity, awfully erroneous as it was, that to extirpate schism, by delivering over her protestant subjects to the secular arm,²⁵ was a most

²³ See Sir John Hayward's *Life and Raigne of Edward VI.*, p. 169; and likewise a short account of the Royal Hospitals in Entick's *Survey of London, Westminster, and Southwark*, vol. ii., p. 34, 35.

²⁴ If we are to believe the statement of an earlier historian of the Reformation, and who composed his history under equally strong party prejudices, her exterminating fury even exceeded that of Bonner, "whom all generations," says Fuller (book viii.), "shall call bloody." "Their blood she caused to be poured forth like water in most parts of the kingdom, but no where more abundantly than in Bonner's slaughter-house."—Heylin's *Hist. of the Reform.*, preface, p. 3.

²⁵ Burnett even insists that Mary endeavoured to establish the inquisition in this country—see introduction to the third volume of the *History of the Reformation*, p. xxix—while Dr. Lingard as stoutly denies the fact. In another passage he says, "arbitrary torture and secret informers seem to be two great steps made to prepare the nation for an inquisition.—vol. iii., p. 247. With the council books before him, surely Burnett might have collected sufficient information to ascertain the fact that the use of the rack was not confined to the reign of Mary.

righteous act. She was, in short, an honest, fearless, uncompromising bigot. But with respect to crimes which had no connexion with state affairs, there is ample evidence that she wished to have justice administered with clemency and equity; while in private life she was scrupulously moral, with a superiority of conduct which rendered her court a model of respectability and virtue. For even they who viewed the papal system with the same abhorrence as they did her bloody policy, hesitate not to acknowledge that she combined in her character some of the best feelings and sentiments of domesticity. Camden,²⁶ in enumerating her other virtues, eulogizes her compassion for the poor and liberality to the distressed; and Godwin, the unexceptionable purity of her conduct.²⁷ The tyrannical persecutions of the reformers by this queen have taken such fast hold of the sensitive imagination of Burnett, that, instead of speaking of her other actions and proceedings with the accuracy of a contemporary annalist, by drawing his materials from the fountain head, he has suffered erroneous conjectures and traditional fictions to usurp the place of facts; so that he has occasionally delineated Mary as if he had taken his information from that grave and creditable writer, who asserts that "she intended to make all the English women give suck to puppy dogs."

One instance, however, of fair dealing towards her, on the part of our historian, must not be passed over—his giving us a paper to the council, written in her own hand; from which we select a passage that will be thought worthy of being inscribed in letters of gold by those who maintain that the cause of genuine piety can only be aided, and the true interests of religion powerfully asserted, by a reform in every part of our national establishment:—"She also vainly believed that many benefices should not be in one man's hand, but that every priest ought to look to his cure, and reside upon it. And she looked on the pluralities over England to be a main cause of the want of good preachers, whose sermons, if joined with a good example,

²⁶ *Principes apud omnes ob mores sanctissimos, pretatem in pauperes, liberalitatem in nobiles, atque ecclesiasticos nunquam satis laudata, Britannia.* London, 1607, fol. p. 130. Even the protestant bishop has the candour to say, "She was a woman of a strict and innocent life, that allowed herself few of the diversions with which courts abound."—*Hist. of the Reform.*, vol. ii., p. 743. See also a similar statement from Faust, the *Puritan* secretary of Walsingham, apud Birch, i., p. 39.

²⁷ *Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque castissimis, et usquaque laudanda, si religionis spectes.*—*Rev. Angl. Annal.* Henry VIII., Edw VI., et Maria regnantibus. London, 1616, fol., p. 123.

would do much good ; and without that, she thought that their services would profit little."

Respecting Bishop Gardiner, we think the charge may be made, with equal justice, that Burnett is too easily satisfied with imperfect testimony, with statements which he should have rejected as unworthy of credence ; and this from his being ready to class that prelate, for ferocity of character,²⁸ with one who might be called a hunter of human blood ; for so pre-eminently infamous was Bonner's reputation that "every infant who could lisp his name was able to say, 'Bloody Bonner is Bishop of London.'" That Burnett's position here is at least doubtful, and probably erroneous, we think, appears by his omission of what we have the best authority for believing—that when Peter Martyr, in his apprehension that the fires of extermination were about to be kindled against the reformers, asked permission to quit the country, while several Roman catholics, imbued with the cruel and sanguinary spirit of Bonner, sought for his commitment, Gardiner not only insisted that he came over to England by an express invitation from the government, but generously provided him with the means for his departure. The bishop also holds out the chancellor as the originator and favourer of the Spanish alliance. But here again he is wrong ; for Gardiner had a decided aversion to tyrannical domination, his love of liberty being built on principle, and not on mere feeling. Aware, then, that the Emperor Charles was already too much feared in almost every state in Europe, and thoroughly sensible how that fear would be increased by his son becoming the husband of the Queen of England, like a patriot minister, he employed all his efforts in a struggle against this projected marriage between Philip and Mary. "Every child,"²⁹ says Father Parsons, "acquainted with that state, knoweth or may learn that Bishop Gardiner was of the contrary part or faction that favoured young Edward Courtenay, the Earl of Devonshire, and would have had him to marry the queen." We learn, indeed, from the despatches of Noailles, that with a manly freedom suitable to his high dignity and the importance

²⁸ Burnett, however, cannot but allow that the letter of Gardiner to Sir John Godsalue does him great credit. In this letter he assigns his reasons for disobeying the injunctions issued by the council to the ecclesiastical visitors ; while he dwells upon the inefficacy of the king's power to command anything contrary to common law or to a statute.—vol. ii, append. 112. He also admits that the chancellor showed both his knowledge of and attachment to the civil constitution, by the securities in the treaty with Philip, and established by statute.—Vol. ii, p. 267.

²⁹ Watch-word, p. 41.

of the affair, the bishop expressed his disapprobation to Mary concerning her wish to marry a foreigner in preference to one born an Englishman and nearly allied to the crown. Nor is there evidence insufficient to substantiate the assertion that Mary would have accepted the hand of Courtenay—as Gardiner spoke the sentiments of the majority of the council—had she not discovered that he was addicted to the most licentious and profligate courses; and therefore, though she might have admired him (for his person and address were engaging), the severe austerity of her manners revolted at the idea of marrying one whose morals were affirmed to be vicious in the extreme. The following anecdotes, also, will serve to illustrate the foregoing observation, that Gardiner well understood the old ground of our political constitution. Upon being desired by Mary to give his undisguised opinion respecting a book, expressly written for the purpose of introducing a plan to render her independent of parliament. "Madam," exclaimed the chancellor, "it is a pity that so virtuous a lady should be surrounded by such sycophants. The book is naught, it is filled with things too horrible to be thought of." In the pursuit of place and power, Gardiner had generally penetration and sagacity to discover the party likely to be successful; but, in common with other ambitious men, he was often obliged to make those sacrifices to convenience which not only caused his sentiments to appear inconsistent and his conduct equivocal, but occasionally hurried him into acts bordering on tyranny and oppression. It is a calumny on his memory to say that he paid his court to Henry or his daughter, by displaying all the refinements of a Machiavellian policy, and by seizing every favourable opportunity to demonstrate his dislike to the principles of a free government. Again, in formal discussion with Cromwell before the king, upon the inherent rights of the crown, when the former was urging Henry to rule without the consent of the estates of the people of the realm—the necessity of which iniquitous piece of advice is not very obvious, since Henry was then as absolute as any of the Cæsars; for though the government might be free in theory, the practice and effect are perfectly notorious for having been directly contrary—Gardiner had the courage to assert that "statute and custom were alike opposed to arbitrary proceedings in the executive." But the reader shall hear, in Fox's own words, the account of this memorable conversation:—"The Lord Cromwell," says Gardiner, "had once put in the king's head to take upon him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a law; and thereupon I was called for at Hampton Court; and as he was

very stout, 'Come on, my Lord of Winchester,' quoth he, 'answer the king here: but speak plainly and directly, and shrink not, man. Is not that,' quoth he, 'that pleaseth the king, a law? Have ye not that in the civil wars, *quid principi placuit*, &c.?' I stood still, and wondered in my mind to what conclusion this would tend. The king saw me musing, and with gentle earnestness said, 'Answer him whether it be so or no!' I would not answer the Lord Cromwell, but delivered my speech to the king; and told him that I had read of kings who had their will always received for law, but that the form of his reign (to make the law his will) was more sure and quiet; and by this form of government ye be established,' quoth I, 'and it is agreeable with the nature of your people. If you begin a new manner of policy, how it may frame no man can tell. The king turned his back and left the matter." We approve our historian's praises of the enlightened promoter of the new learning, which led the way to civil and ecclesiastical freedom—the vital principle of the British liberty and constitution; but at the same time we might have expected that Burnett, as a friend of limited monarchy, and the expounder, in one of his political tracts, of the reciprocal duties of governors and the governed, should have been fired with indignation at Cromwell's proposition to Henry to make himself every thing and his people nothing.

Had Burnett judged Gardiner according to the standard of his own time and the circumstances in which he was placed, it would not, perhaps, have been difficult for him, on a careful examination of the leading incidents in the bishop's life to discover that there was less of the gall than the milk of human nature in his composition. The specimens which we are about to give, we are inclined to think, will justify this conclusion in the mind of the unprejudiced reader. That Gardiner possessed many requisites which fitted him for a political leader, was acknowledged by the opposite state parties; but, if we are to acquiesce in the opinion of our historian, there was one overpowering sentiment which actuated him alike at the council board, and in the ecclesiastical court—persecution; in short, he invests him with all the exterminating zeal of a papal inquisitor, who not only discards every nice feeling, but every pretension to common humanity; and therefore, according to his decision, we are to regard him as belonging to that class of prime ministers who wish to put down all religious and political modes of thinking by mere force, by the most uncompromising and sanguinary measures. The following statement, unsupported by any other evidence than that of the noted Father Persons, might have been

viewed with great distrust. But the assertion of the same fact by Roger Ascham (the celebrated preceptor of Queen Elizabeth) is at once a confirmation of its truth. "Verily, I believe," says the Jesuit, "that if a man should ask any good-natured protestant that lived in Queen Marie's tyme, and hath both wit to judge and indifferency to speak the truthe without passion, he will confesse that no one great man in that government was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from cruelle and revenge, than Bishop Gardiner, who was known to be a most tender-hearted and myld man in that behalf, in so much that it was some tymes, and by some great personages, objected to him, for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he bore: yea, to him especially it was imputed that none of the greatest and most known protestants in Queen Marie's reigne, was ever called to accompt, or put to trouble for religion."³⁰ In a letter to the Earl of Leicester, by Ascham, some years after the death of Gardiner, he expressly says, "Noe bishop in Queen Marye's dayes would have dealt so with me: for such estimac'n e'n those, even the learnedst and wisest men (as Gardiner, Heath, and Cardinal Pole) made of my poore service, that although they knew perfectly that in religion, by open writing and privy talk, I was contrary unto them, yett that, when Sir Francis Inglefield by name did note me specially at the council board, Gardiner would not suffer me to be called thither, nor touched elsewhere, saying such words of me, as in a letter, though letters cannot blushe, yet should I blushe to write therein to your Lo'pp. Winchester's good will stood not in speaking faire and wishing well; but he did indeed that for me wheby my wife and children shall live the better when I am gone."

Now, if the chancellor, as Burnett represents, had been so prominently instrumental in conjuring up the tempest of per-

³⁰ The latter part of this statement may be ranked, for accuracy, with that of Dr. Milner, in his *Tour in Ireland*—that Mary never persecuted any of the protestants till two years after she began to reign, when they had excited Wyatt's rebellion.—p. 26. Of the many falsehoods which Dr. Milner's polemics have engendered, this is, perhaps, one of the most gross and unfounded. The real fact is, that before Mary had been six months on the throne, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Worcester, and Exeter, were thrown into prison; and by using only the most ordinary diligence in the perusal of writers of historical research, he would have learned that after the disputes about her marriage had been adjusted, the sanguinary laws against *heretics* were re-enacted.

secution ;³¹ in that case, we should have often seen him delivering up the heretical offender to the secular arm ; whereas he never came forward for any such purpose, except upon the first persecution after the revival of the statutes, which, of course, he was expected to do, as supreme judge of the highest tribunal. With much show of reason may it, no doubt, be urged that, careful of preserving appearances, he made Bonner his ostensible agent in the atrocities ; but we opine, from the constitution of his mind and temper, that, had he been tinctured with the misanthropy of that execrable character, he would have manifested no reluctance to enter upon action from dread of public censure. But, whatever were his motives, if his deeds continued true to his declarations of moderation towards heretics, by them we must judge him ; and these will acquit him, at least, of outraging our moral feelings, if they do not go the length of proving that he bore his faculties meekly when firmly seated in power. Had not Burnett been actuated by a desire to aggravate, in every possible respect, the supposed misdeeds of Gardiner, he would have rejected, as a party tale, the anecdote related by Fox—of his inviting the old Duke of Norfolk to dinner, but keeping him waiting some hours, until he had been gratified with the intelligence of the execution of Ridley and Latimer. Now, as it may be assumed as an indisputable fact that the old Duke of Norfolk died twelvemonths before this invitation is said to have been given, it is unnecessary to make any additional observations on a tradition which, the Roman Catholic historian justly remarks, was “ palmed on the credulity of the martyrologist.”³²

In one or two instances, Burnett seems to acknowledge the merits of Cardinal Pole. Speaking of the synod held in 1555, by him, for the regulation of matters relative to the Roman Catholic religion, he observes, “ By all this, it may appear how well tempered³³

³¹ Not much dependence is to be placed upon Burnett's assertions respecting the persecuting propensities of Gardiner, when we recollect that in the five bishoprics where there was so much protestant blood-spilling, the diocese of Winchester was one of the bloodless cast. This fact Burnett, in common fairness, should not have overlooked, when he enumerated in his tables the yearly burnings of the protestants under Mary. It was due, also, from Burnett, in strictness of justice, when he accuses Gardiner of want of compassion, to have remembered his conduct towards the Duke of Northumberland.

³² Strype's Eccles. Mem., vol. vi., p. 29.

³³ It has, however, been affirmed by some writers, that the cardinal contrived the whole system of the Marian persecution, inasmuch as he is said

the cardinal was ; he never set the clergy to prosecute heretics, but to reform themselves." The foregoing passage has extorted the praise even of Dr. Milner. The following misstatements would have no less provoked his displeasure :—"I make no doubt," says Burnett, "that Pole acknowledged the king as supreme head of the church, because he sat in the lower house of convocation in quality of the Dean of Exeter." But before he pronounces this positive opinion, he should have recollected how distinctly the cardinal states that he was present when the clergy's composition was refused, on the ground of that body withholding their assent to the supremacy, but not when they subscribed to it. If Burnett's assumption, indeed, had been true, doubtless, when the cardinal published his treatise on the supremacy (which he did a few years afterwards), his short-sighted antagonists would not have failed to taunt him for opposing what he had so lately approved. Their silence upon this subject, of itself, is a pretty strong conclusion that his conduct at least involved nothing repugnant to the principles of consistency.

Upon some historical questions, Burnett seems to throw away all doubt at once, where other writers have manifested a considerable degree of distrust, from the circumstances of rational confidence being weakened by the suspicious nature of the evidence or testimony on which they depend. There is, however, more prejudice than sound criticism on the part of our historian, in rejecting, as unworthy of all credence, the account of the interview between Henry and Pole, on the subject of the divorce and second marriage, and in attributing it to the design of Sanders, "to fabricate a romantic adventure, to set off his hero ;" when Pole, at the risk of his life, had the steadfastness of purpose to expose to the king the guilt and consequences of the step he meditated, and so far incensed Henry by this bold act "that he thought, at one time, to have drawn his dagger and stabbed him." Every part of the story, as it is recorded by Pole himself, in his letters to Edward VI. and to the parliament, gives new and powerful confirmation of this interview having taken

to have maintained "that no thieves, no murderers, were so pernicious to the commonwealth, as the heretics ; that no treason was to be compared to theirs ; and that they were to be rooted up like brambles and briers, and cast into the fire." There can be little doubt that he had a chief hand in the attempts to depose Henry, and to restore the ancient faith. This treason is applauded by his panegyric biographer, Phillips.—*Life of Pole*, Sect. iii. Perhaps the best vindication of the cardinal's treason, are the sufferings which he and his family endured from the tyrant.

place. We do not, therefore, see how Burnett can stand excused of great injustice to the memory of the cardinal, in regarding the whole story of the meeting as an absolute falsehood, especially after Pole's solemn appeal to the tribunal of God³⁴ for the veracity of his statement, and his wish for the uniform tenor of his life to be made the test by which his good faith should be tried; unless he could be convicted of being a man who wrote to deceive, and whose assertions, even when ratified by the most sacred obligations, were not worthy of consideration.

We here close our examination of a work which its author lived long enough to see in possession of that popularity he was so naturally ambitious to secure.³⁵ Not fewer than eight editions were published during his life-time; while its value was justly appreciated, and warmly acknowledged, even by those detractors of clerical merit, who had reasoned themselves into a belief that a churchman cannot undertake an ecclesiastical history without pleading more for the interests of his order than the interests of religion.³⁶ In

*4 "Testoc tribunal Dei, apud quem, si falsa dico, reum me æternæ pæno judico."—(Epis. Pole ad Parlamentum). "Sed neque de hoc, neque de aliis mihi fidem adhiberi postulo, nisi reliquæ meæ omnes actiones, quæ in-huiusque diem sunt secutæ, idem semper testimonium."

*5 "In his Enquiry into the Reasons for Abrogating the test imposed on all members of parliament, offered by Sam. Oxon," the bishop thus alludes to the widely-diffused circulation of his volumes:—"The History of the Reformation sells still so well, that I do not believe Mr. Chisswell, the printer of it, has made any present to this reasoner to raise its price; for to attack it with so much malice, and yet not to offer one reason to lessen its credit, is as effectual a recommendation as this author can give it."

*6 Some of the tory clergymen, however, were at no pains to conceal their aversion to him and to his writings. One of them, who had the temerity even to make him a theme of obloquy in the pulpit, is, in the following passage, justly rebuked for his insolence:—"To treat Dr. Burnett with the scurrilous and indecent epithets of a man that has made a great bustle in the world, an apostate from the Church of England, a seditious enquirer, a scandalous pamphleteer, and the like, was this due from a minister of the Church of England to the learned Dr. Burnett, who, to his immortal glory, has vindicated the reformation of this church from the aspersion of its enemies, by a history admired by all the world, and done already in several foreign languages?—See a letter to the Rev. John March, *Vicar of Newcastle, from James Welwood, M.D.* In the Political State of Great Britain, vol. ix., March, 1715, his character is thus summed up:—"He had made his name famous in the learned world by several excellent works on various subjects and well merited of the protestant cause, in a particular manner, by his History of the Reformation. But as this work drew upon him the hatred of all the Roman Catholics, so did his political writings in defence of the Revolu-

our age, we, too, have witnessed very honourable testimonies borne, by writers of the most opposite parties and characters, to the *History of the Reformation*; and which is admitted on all sides to be enough, in spite of the acknowledged defects of the work, to immortalize the name of Burnett.

M.R.S.L.

REMARKS ON CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE MAMMALIA;*

WITH A SKETCH OF SIR ROBERT SIBBALD'S "PHALAINOLOGIA NOVA."†

NATURAL HISTORY has of late become, like many of the other sciences, the object of popular illustration, to accommodate its wonders to the perceptions of even infant curiosity; and catechisms of low price, with attractive embellishments, are now within the reach of all the little masters and misses whom the march of intellect has so far advanced beyond their parallels in the last age. While we rejoice at the rapid spread of knowledge among the rising generation, we do fear, however, that the popular science thus disseminated, in wide-spread floods, and in attractive forms, is likely to impair the taste for deeper investigation, and distract the mental energies which might otherwise have been directed to the investigation of single or abstruse branches of knowledge, and the consequent enlargement of the domain of science. Multifarious as are the pursuits recommended in the present day, and varied as are the objects pressed on the attention of the student, it may be doubted whether the subjects offered to his attention are more thoroughly investigated or understood than when the mind was directed to fewer objects, and the scale of knowledge in these was of course much higher. Whatever the ultimate effects may be, it is certain that, speaking commercially, the incitement of an author to pursue

tion of 1688, together with the great share he had in that great and happy event, expose him to the inveterate, unrelenting enmity of the non-jurors."

* Being an analytical account of Wilson's article *Mammalia*, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica, new edition."

† 4to., Edinburgh, 1692.

a particular train of experiments or investigations is now considerably lessened, inasmuch as no book on abstract science or the higher species of literature would at the present time sell to pay the expences of paper and printing; and an author who should publish with the view of emolument from such works, would be miserably disappointed. Any facts or views which were interesting or new would be *abstracted* or *extracted*, as the terms are, before a week was over, for the benefit of the penny literature and science of the day, and the authoritative volume of the author be left to slumber, untouched and uncalled for, on the bookseller's shelf.

With the exception of some of the more respectable and ably conducted literary undertakings, such is the character of the literature and science of the present time. The *quartos* and *octavos* of the giants of former times have given way to the tiny science and nut-shell volumes adapted, it would seem, to modern intellect. And though knowledge may now be acquired without effort of attention or judgment or memory, in the pictured plainness of popular instruction, we still have a feeling that, to master any one branch of science to any useful purpose, recourse must still be had to the unpictured works of former investigators.

As an exception to the works to which we have alluded, the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* may be noticed. Without pretending to characterize as they should be characterized the treatises in this store-house of knowledge, by certainly the most eminent men of the day, we beg to direct the attention of our readers to the articles on Natural History which have already appeared in that celebrated work. These are prepared under the superintendence of an able naturalist, Mr. James Wilson, whose contributions to this branch of science are well known to all our readers. To the article *MAMMALIA*, by that writer, we would now direct the attention of those who wish to acquire the most recent information on this branch of Natural History. Illustrated as it is with a series of beautiful engravings, of nearly all the genera, we do not know any work of the same extent which gives so much information as to the structure and habits of this prominent class of animals.

After a historical account of the different writers on animals, from Aristotle, the father of Natural History, down to the present time, Mr. Wilson gives a short notice of the principal systems of classification proposed by the most eminent authors; and some necessary details regarding the general structure and habits of this class of animals.

The arrangement Mr. Wilson adopts is that of Baron Cuvier,

with some slight modifications, which it is not necessary to point out. Cuvier, we need scarcely remark, adopted the leading features of the Linnæan classification in the *Règne Animal*. But Mr. Wilson, indignant at MAN being in these, and in most other systems, placed at the head of the animal creation, and in relation to his physical structure connected with animals which suckle their young, boldly asserts the right of man to stand alone, an isolated individual, in no respect connected with the irrational objects of the creation around him as they are with one another. For our part, we feel no particular complacence in the idea, supported by some naturalists, that man is but the civilized head of a family of animals which includes the race of apes and monkeys; and we are not flattered by the idea which holds out the speechless and four-handed denizens of the forest as man in a state of nature—untaught and uncivilized—and as the origin of the present races. But while we consider it useless to deny a manifest resemblance in many parts of the animal structure approaching to that of man, it by no means follows that even identity of structure might not exist without reason and the use of speech—the characteristics of man, and man alone. We smile at the absurdities of those who see the likeness of “the human form divine” in those tailed or tail-less animals most nearly approaching the human race in material structure, or fancy they can trace any chain of connexion between the most degraded races and the orang-outang. In our view, man is not an isolated being, but one which connects mind and matter—animal, with spiritual existence. And while he is assimilated so far to the creatures below him, in bodily structure and in physical wants, to soften the rigour of his domination over them—his moral and intellectual faculties, on the other hand, equally connect him with the world of spirits. While the present scene is the ultimate destination of the lower animals, and the amenities and pleasures of life their only source of enjoyment, man looks backwards and forwards, and the past and the future, as well as the present, influence his conduct. His mind ranges beyond space and time, and he feels and knows that immortality is an attribute of his being. Notwithstanding all this, we see no great impropriety in arranging man, considered as a physical being, at the head of the animal creation, and distinguishing him by placing him in an order by himself, characterized by the term BIMANA. On the other hand, we are quite satisfied at Mr. Wilson’s removing our race as far as possible from the four-handed simulators of human actions, which naturalists place in the next order, that of QUADRUNA.

In an article such as the present, designed to give a compendious view of the great class MAMMALIA, it is not to be expected that all the species are to be described in detail. Mr. Wilson has, however, in addition to accurate descriptions of the principal species, particularized the later discoveries, and given authentic accounts of animals formerly less known than at present. The establishment of zoological gardens at the metropolis and elsewhere, affords opportunities of observing the habits of animals which few have an opportunity of seeing in their native haunts; and from these and similar sources we may expect to derive much additional and interesting information in regard to the structure and habits of this class of animals.

In the order QUADRUMANA, we find an interesting account of the Chimpanzee, or black orang of Africa (*Simia troglodytes*, Linn.), illustrated by a very good figure. It is rather a singular circumstance that the young alone of this species, the nearest allied to man in physical conformation, should have been seen by naturalists. Of another species of gigantic size, the red or Asiatic orang (*Pithecius satyrus*), a number of interesting particulars are given. Young animals of this species have been more than once made the subject of observation, but, with a single exception, the adult animal has not been seen or accurately described. The adult animal alluded to was killed on the north coast of Sumatra, and was described by Dr. Clarke Abel.* This gigantic animal was upwards of seven feet and a half in height. Its head, hands, and feet, are represented in the *Journal of Science*, from drawings sent from Calcutta; and the hands and feet are delineated in Wilson's *Illustrations of Zoology*, (vol. i.), from accurate models in the museum of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, where also a model of the under jaw and of a canine tooth are to be seen. A young animal of this species was exhibited in Edinburgh in August, 1832. A model of another young individual is in the museum of the Royal Society; and in the plates which accompany the article *Mammalia*, a very characteristic likeness is given. None of the young of this species have ever survived so long in confinement as to attain any thing like their full development.

The second order, or FERRÆ, Mr. Wilson, in the outset, separates into four divisions, viz. *Cheiroptera*, *Insectivora*, *Carnivora*, and *Marsupialia*; but afterwards, very properly in our opinion, forms the marsupial animals into a *third* order. We prefer, with

* *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, vol. iv., p. 193-90.

Temminck, that arrangement which places the bats and pouched animals in separate orders, and includes all the carnivorous animals under the old term *FERÆ*. These animals, emphatically termed beasts of prey, naturally arrange themselves into three inferior groups, according to their food and mode of life, under the heads of *Insectivora*, *Carnivora*, and *Amphibia*.

In speaking of the dog, Mr. Wilson considers, at considerable length, the question as to whether the domestic dog originates from a single stock, or from an union of congenerous species. Naturalists are not yet agreed as to this point; and the wolf, the fox, the jackall, and the hyæna, have all been referred to as the probable origin of the domestic races. Buffon refers all the present varieties of the dog to the shepherd's dog, as most approaching, in his opinion, the primitive race; but the shepherd's dog and the wolf-dog are thought, by Pallas, to derive their origin from the jackall; while he regards the mastiff as more nearly allied to the hyæna, and the terrier to the fox. Mr. John Hunter,* in 1787, endeavoured to show "that the wolf, jackall, and dog, are all of the same species," and gives several instances of *prolific crosses* between the dog and wolf, and the dog and jackall; this being considered by him as the surest test of the animals being of *one species*. He was not aware, however, of any well-authenticated accounts of the fox and dog breeding together; and for this reason, as well as that they differ considerably in their habits, he was inclined to consider the fox as of a different species, but belonging to the same genus. Mr. Wilson discards the hyæna as being one of the stocks of the domestic dog, inasmuch as it does not even belong to the genus, being distinguished by "having five toes on each foot, and five molar teeth on each of the upper jaws, and seven on each side of the under." Mr. Wilson, following Hunter, also rejects the fox, because its "habitual character and instinctive habits" are different; because "it is a wary, silent, nocturnal animal, of sly and solitary habits, never congregating or hunting in packs;" and because the pupils of the eyes of the fox are oblong, whereas in the dog they are round. He gives the strongest reasons, however, for considering the dog as originating from the wolf in the more northern, and from the jackall in the more southern regions of the world, "and that the intermediate varieties have sprung from an intermixture of the jackall dogs on the one hand, and the wolf-dogs on the other, afterwards

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1787, p. 253-66.

crossed and commingled in many conceivable ways, both by accident and design.”*

While we cordially agree with John Hunter, and also with Mr. Wilson, in considering the dog as of a mixed race, and not a species, the original of which is now lost, we cannot subscribe entirely to their limitation to the wolf and the jackall as the sole origin of the domestic races. We have more than once had occasion to see prolific crosses between the shepherd's dog and the fox in this country; and several of these crosses are still, it is believed, to be seen in different parts of Lanarkshire.

Belonging to this order is the *Felis maniculata*, interesting as being considered the origin of the domestic races of cats, of which a characteristic figure is given.

The next order is the MARSUPIALIA, or those animals which are provided with a pouch for the protection of their young. Before the discovery of Australia, naturalists were only acquainted with the pouched animals of America, included under the genus *Didelphis*, and commonly known by the name of opossums. One of the chief peculiarities, indeed, of Australia is, that no less than two-thirds of the quadrupeds are marsupial, and make their way with more rapidity by springing in the air than by running.

The order GLIRES, RODENTIA, or Gnawers, includes many animals whose skins form an important article of commerce. This order is treated of at considerable length; and interesting notices of several of the species are given, with anecdotes illustrative of their peculiar social habits and instincts. The power of hybernation, or passing the winter in a state of sleep, exists in its greatest perfection in this order of animals. Many of the species, inhabiting countries which are annually bound up with frosts and snows of some months' duration, retire to their burrows on the approach of winter, and pass that inclement season in a state of sleep or stupor. A few species occasionally awake from their long sleep, and on the occurrence of milder weather show themselves at the entrance of their burrows; and these species are remarked as being those which provide a stock of food during the summer and autumn months, which they consume during winter. Many species, however, make no such provision, and after retiring to the burrows pass the colder months in a state of continued sleep, till the warmth of spring again recalls them to a state of activity.

* *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, vol. i., p. 552.

The fifth order, the EDENTATA, contains, as a distinct tribe, under the title *Monotrema*, those singular animals, peculiar to Australia, the echidna and ornithorhynchus. We have no well-ascertained facts with regard to the mode of reproduction of these animals; and the investigations of anatomists have not yet decided the question.

Mr. Owen,* of London, has by his dissections thrown most light upon this subject. He has very satisfactorily pointed out that the female of the ornithorhynchus possesses organs fitted for the secretion of a lacteous fluid, with this anomalous structure, however, that there exists no nipples, but that the ducts leading from the "elongated subcylindrical lobes open upon the surface of the cuticle, forming an areola of an oval shape, but without being raised above the surface of the surrounding integuments." At a later period, Mr. Owen† published an account of the different appearances of the ovum in a certain stage of development, but not so far advanced towards maturity as to enable him to ascertain whether the animal deposits the ova in the form of eggs, as has been vulgarly affirmed, or whether, as he conceives to be more likely, they are hatched within the body of the mother." He remarks that in every essential particular, the monotrematous ovary, up to the full stage of development, is the same as that of the ordinary mammalia, and its structure is in exact physiological correspondence with the mode of nourishment of the young animal. After describing minutely the ova themselves, as found in the uteri of several gravid females he dissected, he makes a number of general observations on the probabilities of the ova being deposited as eggs, and of being hatched within the body of the mother; and whilst he acknowledges that the ova present, in many respects, the structure which "is compatible with, and perhaps favourable to, the opinion" that they are excluded as ova, and developed out of the body of the parent, he gives strong reasons for leaning to the other opinion.

Mr. Owen objects to the oviparous theory, because the bones of the pelvis are incapable of allowing of the passage of a large body like an egg, which must contain within itself all the elements for the nourishment of the young. Besides, the yolk of the egg of the bird never increases in bulk during its passage through the Fallopian tubes, having merely the albuminous portions added to it there, having acquired its full development previous to its separation from the

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1832, p. 517-35.

† *Phil. Trans.*, 1834, p. 555-66.

ovary; whereas in the ornithorhynchus the ova of the specimens examined had evidently acquired a great additional bulk after having traversed these tubes. From this and many other arguments, he concludes that it is probable that "the *Monotremata*, like the *Marsupiateda*, are essentially ovoviviparous;" and he adds in a note the known fact, which tends to strengthen his opinion, that "the kidneys occupy the characteristic position of the mammiferous type of structure, which allows free space for the enlargement of the uterus during pregnancy."

The sixth order, the *PACHYDERMATA*, divided into three tribes, the *Proboscidea*, *Pachydermata proper*, and *Solidungula*, contains the giants of the quadrupeds. In this order are found three animals highly useful to man, viz. the elephant, the hog, and the horse. These are too well known in their history and habits to render it necessary that we should notice them further.

The seventh order, the *PECORA*, or ruminating animals, contains all the animals most important to man, with the exception of the horse, dog, hog, and elephant; and Mr. Wilson describes those which are interesting either from their value to man, or from their peculiar habits.

We now come to the last, and not the least interesting order of the mammalia, viz., the cetacea, or fish-shaped mammalia. Mr. Wilson enters into the details of this order at much greater length than he has done with regard to any of the others, and shows throughout a most intimate knowledge of the subject. We were pleased to observe, too, that all the known species are described.

This order is divided into the *Herbivorous* and *Ordinary Cetacea*. The first of these consists of three genera, the *Manatus*, *Halicore*, and *Stellerus*. These two last possess this peculiar conformation of structure in the heart, that the ventricles are completely detached from one another—a structure not met with in any other animals.

The ordinary cetacea are treated of under three sub-divisions, the *Delphineæ*, *Heterodontes*, and *Great-Headed Whales*. Under the *Delphineæ*, nine genera are described. The first genus (*Inia* of D'Orbigny), includes a single species, the *I. Bolivensis*. This animal is an inhabitant of rivers and fresh-water lakes, tributaries of the Amazons, 2,100 miles from the sea, being the only one of the cetaceous tribes possessing this peculiar habit. The *Soosoo Gangeticus*, an analogous species, frequents chiefly the creeks and inlets of the sea, though it is occasionally met with in the Ganges, 100 miles from its

mouth. The *Inia* is particularized by having the beak cylindrical and bristled with long coarse strong hairs, a character which has not been remarked in any other of the Cetacea. These animals unite in little troops of three or four individuals, they are observed to raise their snouts out of water when devouring their prey, which appears to consist entirely of fishes.

In the sub-division *Heterodontes*, four genera are described, besides a doubtful genus; whilst under the third sub-division, or *Great-headed-whales*, are included three genera.

In speaking of the Great Northern Rorqual (*Rorqualus borealis*), Mr. Wilson explains the probable use of the longitudinal plicæ or folds, nearly parallel, which commence under the lower jaw, pass down the throat, cover the whole extent of the chest, and terminate far down on the abdomen. His explanation is this: "The rorqual has not in the upper jaw, that large segment of a circle in which the *mysticetus* collects its food; but to compensate for this it has it in the lower; for when it opens its prodigious mouth, the water rushing in opens these folds, and so forms a vast well in which its supplies are collected. On shutting its mouth and contracting the fold the water is expelled, whilst the strainer formed by the baleen retains the captured fish, which, entangled as it were within the meshes of an enormous net, becomes an easy prey."

In the *Rorqualus rostratus*, another species of this genus, Mr. Wilson quotes Dr. Knox's description of a particular apparatus which exists in the blow-holes, and which he appears to regard as new. Dr. Knox's description is remarkably short and imperfect; we give it in his own words: "Two bolster-like substances filled the blowing-canals, which are drawn from them, at the moment of breathing, by muscles provided for that purpose; the mechanism is admirable, and would sustain a pressure from above, though the animal were to descend thousands of fathoms."* We have some doubts whether these "bolster-like substances" are anything more than the *valves* so distinctly described by Pallas, Baron Cuvier, Lacépède, and more lately still by Scoresby. They are described by Pallas as "projecting bodies, about two inches thick, composed of a network of tendinous fibres hard as wood, and scarcely capable of being cut with a knife; two strong muscles, rising from the frontal bone, and peculiar to the tube, acting on these bodies, most effectually shut them down, and so secure the canal." Baron Cuvier describes them as fleshy valves

* Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1834.

situate at the upper or external orifice of the two osseous nostrils, which are closed by means of a very strong muscle, which lies over the intermaxillary bone. Lacépède's description is in nearly similar terms. Scoresby* describes the mechanism and appearance in the "true whale" thus: "In front of each blow-hole, on the upper part of the skull, is found an oblong cavity, which is the seat of a muscular substance, attached by its anterior extremity to the surface of the skull, and by its posterior and inferior extremity to the interior of the skull, at some depth in the blowing-canals. The part of the muscle which penetrates the bony canal is of a conical form, the apex downwards; so that, when the inferior portion contracts, the muscular cone is drawn tight into the orifice, and completely closes the breathing canal; while the action of the external part of the muscle draws the conical part forwards and upwards, and affords a free passage for air in respiration. It is this beautiful structure," says he, "which enables the animal, under the immense pressure to which it is exposed, to exclude the sea-water from its lungs; so far from the water being forced down the canals, the enormous load serves only more effectually to press down and close the valves that defend the passages to the lungs."

We cannot conclude our short remarks on the cetacea without noticing a much disputed point in the history of these animals, viz. whether the spoutings, or *jets d'eau*, are caused by the rejection of the water which is taken in along with their food; whether it is merely the natural moisture or exhalation of the air passages; or lastly, whether it is not a layer of water carried up from the surface of the ocean by the air as it escapes from the blow-hole, when the animal is rising to the surface to breathe.

Without entering into details on this point, it may be stated that, at the present day, the opinions of authors are still divided between the two first of the above theories, though some are inclined to adopt the two-fold explanation of Desmoulins, that "it is not water, but mucosity, which is expelled by the blow-holes during expiration; the animal spouts water only after deglutition, or in moments of rage." Mr. Wilson is inclined to adopt this last explanation.

Now it appears rather strange that this difference of opinion should prevail with regard to a fact which comes so frequently under the observation of the mariner, and still more so when we consider how easily the matter might be set at rest by an examination of the

* Journal of a Voyage to the North Whale Fishery, p. 152. Edinburgh.

anatomical structure of the blow-holes, in those species which are observed to possess the property in question. Many species are never observed to throw up jets, and of those in whom this property is noticed there are great differences; so that the fishermen, who are engaged in the capture of the larger species, are enabled to recognize the species before they come near to it, from the direction, the general appearance, or the height of the jet. It is unquestionable, therefore, that some slight modification of the mechanism by which this is effected will be found to exist.

The organs destined for this purpose consist of two large membranous sacs, formed of a dark-coloured mucous membrane; wrinkled when they are empty, of an ovoidal form when inflated. These sacs are situate beneath the skin, before the blow-holes, with the upper part of which they communicate. Very strong fleshy fibres, arising from the circumference of the skull, and uniting over these sacs or pouches, compress them strongly at the will of the animal.

When a cete wishes to throw up a jet of water, it gives to its tongue and jaws the movement requisite to swallow the water, but as it closes, at the same time, its pharynx, the water is forced into the blow-holes. The rapid movement of this highly-compressed water raises the fleshy valve (above described), which is situate in the upper part of the blow-hole, but below the pouches or sacs; and when the animal compresses these sacs the water is forced out by the upper orifice of the blow-hole—the valve preventing the water from again descending to the mouth—and is elevated into the air to a height proportioned to the force of the compression on the sacs.* It may be mentioned that the upper extremity of the gullet of the cetacea is peculiarly adapted to allow of this function taking place, inasmuch as when (in tracing it from the stomach upwards) it approaches the larynx, it is found to divide itself into two conduits or tubes, one of which communicates with the mouth, and the other with the blow-hole.

Such is a general description of the organs which enable these animals to throw out at will a jet of water: and we are rather surprised that Scoresby, whose opportunities of observing and studying the larger species have been greater than those of most naturalists, should have been led into the belief that it was merely the natural mucosity or moisture that was ejected by these animals; and the more so as

* Cuvier, *Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée*, vol. ii., p. 672; and Lacépède, in *Sonnini's Buffon*, vol. 124, p. 42.

he very accurately describes the valvular apparatus above alluded to, and yet overlooks the sacs.

The plates of the Cetacea seem very correct, and finished with attention to scientific accuracy; they are also selected so as to exhibit the peculiar characters of this interesting class of animals. A drawing of the heart of the *Dugony* and *Stellerus* is given, as also facial etchings of the *Delphinæ*, from which the generic characters are taken. We have likewise to mention with praise the etchings of the anatomical peculiarities of the skulls of the great rorqual whale, and the true whalebone whale, as also the different forms of structure of the windpipe in the dolphin and narwhal. The brain of the dolphin is also very accurately represented. We notice these circumstances particularly, because they illustrate much more clearly than mere description, the peculiarities of the different genera; for in a class of animals so little studied and so difficultly accessible, the aid of accurate engravings is invaluable.

As connected with the *Cetacea*, we are rather surprised to observe, that no notice is taken of the observations on this class of animals, by an early and eminent Scottish naturalist, Sir Robert Sibbald; nor is his work even alluded to, so far as we have perceived. Though he minutely describes a rorqual, 78 feet long, cast ashore in the Firth of Forth in September, 1692, yet a modern describer of another animal of the same species, of which the skeleton is preserved, takes no notice of the previous labours of Sibbald. This work, entitled "*Phalainologia Nova*,"* was printed in Edinburgh in 1692, and reprinted in London, at the expense of Mr. Pennant, in 1773; but we believe that copies of the work are not common, and the information it contains little known. Ray availed himself of the arrangement of Sibbald in his Synopsis; and foreign authors have also referred with approbation to the Scottish naturalist. Characteristic figures of the principal species described are added, with representations of their teeth and horny laminæ.

Sir Robert divides his treatise into three sections. 1. Of the smaller whales, furnished with teeth in both jaws. 2. Of the larger whales, with teeth only in the lower jaw; and 3. Of the larger whales,

* *Phalainologia Nova*; sive observationes de rarioribus quibusdam Balænis in Scotiæ littus nuper ejectis; in quibus, nuper inspectæ Balæniæ per genera et species, secundum characteres ab ipsa Natura impressos, distribuntur; quædam nunc primum describuntur; errores etiam circa descriptas deteguntur; et breves de dentium, spermis-ceti et ambre-grisæ ortu, natura et usu, dissertationes traduntur. 4to., Edinburgi, 1699.

which have horny plates in the upper jaw. Under the first head he describes the grampus (*Delphinus orca*) two of which were thrown ashore near Culross in 1691, and five or six near the royal castle of Blackness, on the opposite coast. The round-headed Cachalot of Pennant, to the number of a hundred and two, were stranded at Cairrffiston, in Orkney, a short time before he wrote; and in 1690 twenty-five small whales, from ten to twelve feet long, "*de incertæ classis*," were grounded at Cramond island, in the Firth of Forth.

The second section includes the whales which have teeth only in the lower jaw. The first of these is the *Balæna macrocephala*, with two lateral fins, often thrown on the shores of the British islands. 2. The *Balæna macrocephala*, with a third or dorsal fin, and falciform teeth in the lower jaw (the great-headed Cachalot of Pennant.) A male of this species was stranded at Limekilns in February, 1689. 3. The *Balæna macrocephala tripinni* (the high-finned Cachalot of Pennant), was cast ashore on one of the Orkney islands in 1687.

The third section, which treats of the larger whales with horny plates in the upper jaw, includes, 1. Whales with two fins, with or without a blow-hole. This includes the common whale, of which an individual seventy feet long was cast ashore near Peterhead in 1682. Another individual of the same species, eighty feet in length, ran aground at Limekilns, in the Firth of Forth, in the year 1652.* 2. and 3. Three-finned whales, with nostrils, a prolonged beak, and folds on the belly. In November, 1690, one of these whales (the pike-headed whale of Pennant), was cast ashore at Burntisland. It was forty-six feet long. 4. Of a three-finned whale, with the lower jaw round, and much broader than the upper jaw. This is the round-lipped whale of Pennant, of which an individual was cast ashore near the castle of Abercorn, in the Firth of Forth, in September, 1692. It was a male, and seventy-eight feet long. This species is minutely described, from measurements and inspection, by Sir Robert, although Dr. Knox, in his description of a similar animal, does not allude to its previous occurrence on the Scottish coast. 5. Of the whale lately cast ashore at Boyne, in Banffshire. Its body was said to have exceeded eighty feet in length, not including the tail. It had horny laminæ in the upper jaw.

We should have sooner noticed the articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" on the natural sciences, had we not been deterred by the

* The jaw-bones of this individual were preserved in a garden-walk at Pitfirran. Is it possible that they still exist?

certainly of not being able to do justice to the authors within the circumscribed limits of a notice. One of the earliest articles—that on *ANATOMY*, human and comparative—demonstrated that contributors were to be found equal to those who first raised the character of this work to its high pre-eminence; and the subsequent articles on this class of subjects have brought the sciences to the level of the present day, in a manner highly creditable to the publishers. Several of the treatises have been printed in a separate form, and amongst the rest the article *ENTOMOLOGY*, by Mr. James Wilson, which is one of the clearest and best introductions to this delightful study we have met with.

We cannot conclude without adverting to the beautiful engravings by which these treatises are illustrated. The figures of the mammiferous animals are highly characteristic in their attitudes and expression; and, what is of great consequence, outlines of the skulls of most of them are added. This is an addition of much value to the student, as the characters of the families, as to their food and manner of life, can be ascertained by inspection of the jaws alone. Most of the figures in the older works on Natural History, being taken from ill-stuffed specimens, have but a distant resemblance to their living prototypes; but the artists of modern times have much improved in this respect, and the minutest details are now represented with all the fidelity of nature. The manner in which the whole work is got up, indeed, does great credit to the spirited publishers; and we can scarcely doubt that the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*” will retain its superiority, as a dictionary of arts and sciences, when many of the ephemeral publications of the day shall be forgotten.

RAMBLES IN SWITZERLAND AND SAVOY.

CHAPTER III.

THE VERRERIES.—VALLEY OF LA CHAUX DE FOND.—ITS FORMER CONDITION.—LE LOCLE.—VILLAGE OF LA CHAUX DE FOND.—ROAD TO NEUCHÂTEL.—MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY AT NEUCHÂTEL.—POINT-DE-VUE ON THE ROAD TO YVERDON.—YVERDON.—MOUDON.—RETURN TO LAUSANNE.

AT the close of my last chapter, I had conducted the reader to the village of St. Croix, within a very short distance of the canton

of Neuchâtel. It is my purpose now to continue the narrative of my northern excursion through the canton of Neuchâtel, as far as la Chaux de Fond, and then bring the reader back, by way of the city and lake of Neuchâtel, and the towns of Yverdon and Moudon, to my head-quarters at Lausanne.

Perhaps one of the great reasons why the Jura chain has to me so many charms is, that in traversing its valleys, and crossing by rough paths the numerous passes with which it abounds, there is a constant variety in the scenery, and neither the eye nor the mind is ever fatigued by dwelling long on the same set of objects, or even on different objects similarly related. If at one time we complain of the weariness arising from the contemplation of a waste and barren expanse, we are soon cheered by marks of civilization springing apparently from the midst of wilderness; and if, under other circumstances, after wandering among pine forests apparently interminable, we long for a change, and require the lofty precipice and the naked rock, these are not far off. We have but to vary our direction a very little, and in the course of a short time the scene has shifted; and it scarcely seems as if the change is that produced by our own change of position, so completely different is the prospect and so rapid the transition.

At the close of the last chapter, I was complaining of the superabundance of wildness which characterized the scenery between Jougne and St. Croix. On leaving this latter town, however, I entered at once upon a region of forest, and, with my compass as a guide, walked on through a succession of valleys, some more cultivated than others, but all offering sufficient proof of the agency of human exertions. On descending into the first valley, the views were exceedingly beautiful and interesting; for there was abundance of vegetation, consisting both of noble forest trees and smiling corn-fields, every thing being, as usual, at once enlivened and ennobled by the mountains, which rose suddenly and boldly from the flat surface of the valley, and completed the picturesque beauty of the spot. My path lay along the windings of the valley, and for some distance was closed in on each side by the steep face of the mountain rising like a wall both on the right hand and the left. After a time the country became more open; and at a turn towards the north-east the hilly district was left behind, and a considerable extent of table land, commanding views of the French frontier (which is not very far from this road), continued for several miles with but little change, until a small tract of forest again intervened. The trees were just sufficiently thick to hide, till one was close to it,

the abrupt termination of the table land, and the view of a long transverse valley, along which apparently a street extended for a very great distance, formed, in fact, of four good-sized villages united into one. This rather curious string of habitations is called by the single name "*les Verreries Suisse*"—the Swiss Glass-houses. There is, as the name would lead one to expect, an appearance of busy and thriving industry about these villages, which is very pleasing, and gives an air of comfort far surpassing the more quaint and antiquated look belonging to larger towns.

The east and west valley (crossing the principal line of the Jura) in which these villages are built, extends for several miles, and conveys the waters of a few small tributary streams to the lake of Neuchâtel; while advantage is taken of so convenient a pass to form a road from the French town of Pontarlier to Neuchâtel and other cities in this part of Switzerland—a line of communication which, perhaps, in a commercial point of view, may be of considerable importance. In other respects, the valley is naked, ugly, and apparently not very well cultivated, although, indeed, I was told that nearer Neuchâtel, when the river has entered it, the scenery is extremely pretty, and that the road to the Locle by Moraigne, les Ponts, and la Chaux du Milieu, is far preferable to the certainly uninteresting route by which I arrived at the same spot.

Between the last-mentioned town and le Locle the road improves in interest, but until we come upon the last hill—from which we may look down along the whole extent of the curious valley of la Chaux de Fond—there occurs nothing worthy of particular notice.

The valley of la Chaux de Fond is one of those instances (not uncommon in the Jura) where the natural or accidental draining of a mountain lake has laid bare a small extent of dry land, capable of high cultivation, enclosed on all sides by lofty hills, and without the slightest trace of running water to enliven the rather gloomy scenery of its dark forests. These valleys are not without interest to a genuine admirer of Nature; while to the geologist they present subjects for contemplation, and enquiries for solution, which oblige him to pause even in his most rapid course. Let me, then, be excused if I explain a little in detail the prospect which offered itself to my contemplation when entering the district to which I have just alluded.

I mentioned that, until arriving at the ridge from which one looks down upon the valley, there is little to excite interest in the scenery. The prospect which then opens is accordingly seen to

advantage ; and perhaps something of this kind is necessary, to remind the mere hunter after the picturesque that he is approaching an interesting spot. At all events, there exist no such very striking elements of beauty as to make one long to pause solely to enjoy their effect : it is to its scientific interest that such scenery owes, perhaps, most of its attractions.

The first glance at the valley extending at one's feet is almost sufficient to determine its former condition. We see a long, narrow, and irregular tract of land, nearly level, but rising gradually towards the south—the observer is supposed to be standing at this extremity—and enclosed by highish hills on all sides, rising rather abruptly, and entirely shutting in the level and cultivated area. Towards the north, however, and not very far from our position, is seen a low ridge of irregular hill crossing the valley ; while a little to the south the valley closes in, and is lost in the more decided mountain and forest scenery in that direction.

Between this inferior ridge and the place from which my description is taken, there is a large and handsome village—a village, indeed, in name, but rivalling many towns in France, as well as Switzerland, for population, extent, and commercial importance. This is “Le Locle,” the birth-place, I believe, of innumerable watches and much jewellery, which Paris and other great capitals have the credit of producing, and have even given names to. The houses of the village are built immediately under the hill, to the east of the valley ; and from the multitude of small villas and pretty little clumps of cottages which form the environs, added to the clean white appearance of the whole (owing to a fire which, a few years ago, almost annihilated the place), the *tout ensemble* is exceedingly good and very striking. One does not, of course, expect fine specimens of Gothic or other architecture in such a situation or under such circumstances ; but the churches are pretty, and the one or two other public buildings—such as the town hall, &c.—are not devoid of interest. The houses are large, the inns respectable ; and there is an air of solidity, simplicity, and comfort, which accords with the growing importance of the place, and indicates pretty clearly the condition of the inhabitants.

Passing through the principal street, which was as much crowded with people as if some great fair had been going on, although it was not, I believe, even the market day of the place, and leaving behind me the half-built mansions rising rapidly in the outskirts, I soon crossed the ridge called “le cret,” of which I have already spoken, and came next into the more regular valley, here sufficiently

narrow, with hills rising immediately and suddenly on each side. Then, pursuing my course northward, I arrived before long at the second important village, from which, indeed, the whole valley takes its name—"la Chaux de Fond." It would seem that the lake, which formerly must have occupied all this valley, was nearly or perhaps quite separated by a narrow strip of high ground ("le cret") from the more southern sheet of water, upon whose bed le Locle is now built, just as, at the present day, the pretty Lac de Joux is only united to the Lac de Brenet by the village of le Pont.*

The village of la Chaux de Fond resembles that of le Locle in most respects, but it is larger, the houses are older and more approaching to the picturesque in their pointed gables and irregular forms, and it is situated on a prettier spot, being surrounded by a good deal of wood, and in the neighbourhood of some views of forest scenery, which are beautiful, though on a small scale. It will be interesting to the geological reader, also, to know that there has recently been discovered here a small basin of brownish clay, on part of which much of the town is built, and which contains fossil remains referrible to *Anoplotherium*, *Palæotherium*, and the horse, mixed with *Deinotherium* and hippopotamus; thus tending to prove that the date of the last deposit made in this tertiary valley must, in all probability, be the miocene period of Mr. Lyell; a period to which this and some other nearly allied deposits had been already referred as the most probable, from other and very different phenomena connected with the Jura tertiaries.

Leaving the town, or village (if it must so be called), I left at the same time the valley, and followed the road across the mountains to Neuchâtel, crossing in this way two-thirds of the Jura range, and seeing on my way a great deal of the fine scenery characteristic of these mountains. Not many hundred yards from the last house the road begins to rise along a mountain side in a zigzag, and presents many charming views of the cultivated valley beneath, until, having reached the top of the pass, and turning round to contemplate the scene, we have once more a view of the basin-shape of the enclosed country, and a satisfactory idea is obtained of its former condition. We are not here concerned to explain the cause of the draining of the ancient lake formerly occupying this spot, although it may be as well to observe that this event was, in all probability, contemporaneous with, and consequent upon, the gradual and

* See page 28.

successive elevations, which raised the Jura mountains themselves to their present height.

The first ridge upon which we come, in travelling eastward from la Chaux de Fond, may be said to be double, as it is of greater breadth than the others, and it is remarkable for a slight but very interesting depression, which may easily be observed parallel to the principal chain. The cause of such depressions has been explained in an "Account of the Meeting of the French Geological Society at Porrentruy," in the last volume of *The Analyst*.^{*} But the effect in the case before us is singularly beautiful; for, owing, perhaps, partly to the favourable nature of the soil, and partly to the complete shelter afforded by the neighbouring ridges, there is seen a long line of the richest vegetation entirely composed of forest trees, comprizing a singular variety of species, and contrasting beautifully with the extensive and monotonous gloom of pine and fir, which rarely, in the great forests of Switzerland, admit the intrusion of more cheerful colours than their own.

After crossing this first range, the road leads down a steep mountain side, and through extensive pine forests, into a broad valley running for a considerable distance in a north and south direction, and having a pretty, undulating surface, made up, in all probability, of tertiary sand, but capped more or less with a quantity of coarse gravel.

Here, as in so many of the Jura valleys, the dark sombre shade of extensive clumps of fir forms the back-ground to a landscape in which every element of beauty is combined: the waving corn-field and the rich pasture are varied by a few trees which grace the banks of a tiny river, and show here and there, between their branches, a pretty cottage or a village spire rising in the distance.

I must acknowledge myself very susceptible to the charms of scenery like this, which bears some analogy to the pretty, quiet, and comfortable prospect of a true English country village; and when one finds such a prospect dropped, as it were, from the clouds, in the middle of a wild and mountainous district, the pleasure felt is greater from its unexpected discovery.

I lingered some time before quitting this happy valley, and then the road led me, by a steep path, on one side of a deep ravine or gorge, through which a small stream flows, draining some of the interior country, and communicating with the lake of Neuchâtel. In this way I crossed the most easterly of the ranges of the Jura

^{*} Vol. ix., p. 413.

by a wild, rocky, romantic path, and came down upon Neuchâtel towards night, not a little pleased with my adventures, and very much gratified with what I had seen of the Jura in my walks through its mountains and forests.

The town of Neuchâtel itself is old, dirty, and not at all remarkable ; some parts of the suburbs are, indeed, pretty, and the new building for the university is plain but elegant : but on the whole there is little to attract the traveller who is merely in search of amusement, and little to induce him to pause if he should take this city in his route. The same may be said of the lake of Neuchâtel : it would, indeed, be considered pretty in another country, but for Switzerland it is certainly dull.

The only object of interest which I found in the town was the museum of natural history ; and as I had the advantage of going over this in company with the accomplished Professor Dr. Louis Agassiz, I am enabled to give some account of its contents. Of all the different branches of natural history, this collection is, as one would expect from the known pursuits of Professor Agassiz, most rich in ichthyology, and probably few better or more extensive collections are to be met with in Europe. We find here fish prepared in all imaginable ways ; some stuffed, others skinned, many preserved in spirits, and many more most admirably dissected, and presenting a series of skeletons of fishes as rare as they are valuable. Among these, M. Agassiz pointed out to me one which had cost him some weeks hard labour, and was just set up. It was the skeleton of a very large conger-eel, and care had been taken to preserve in their places all the myriad of thread-like bones which characterize animals of this kind. Nothing could be more beautiful as an exhibition, and nothing, perhaps, could show more forcibly the unwearied patience and extensive knowledge possessed by the accomplished anatomist.

The collection of fish comprises, however, by no means, all that is interesting in this museum. There is also a most admirable series of specimens, both rock and fossil, illustrating completely the geology of the neighbourhood, and including very many extraneous and really valuable specimens. There is likewise a good general zoological collection, especially valuable in conchology, and containing all those casts of the interior of recent shells upon which M. Agassiz has spent so much time, and which are likely to be of the greatest advantage in identifying fossils with known genera.

I must here say one word with regard to the great power which a single man of talent may possess, under certain circumstances, in

leading his fellow citizens to perform useful works for science. Such a digression can scarcely be deemed out of place ; for the name of M. Agassiz is so well known in England, that when he is mentioned as the person who has done these things in a second-rate town in Switzerland, it cannot be uninteresting to enquire how they were brought about.

A few years ago Neuchâtel was celebrated indeed for its watches, but beyond this it possessed no flourishing institution, and no man of talent ; nothing remarkable, and nothing to raise it above the ordinary level of a country town. But no sooner did it obtain for a professor the active-minded Dr. Agassiz than stagnation was at an end. Under his superintendence, a new building was erected, containing extensive museums ; and even before it was completed, while as yet the painter and carpenter had not taken their final adieu, we find the arrangements of the contents actually going on within, and not an hour lost in making the scientific stores as available and useful as possible. Notwithstanding all his numerous avocations, public and private—his works, his lectures, his pupils, and his geology—M. Agassiz (the presiding genius) still finds time to urge on at their utmost speed all those engaged in the work of the museum : and it is not a little interesting and surprising to find that, by the energy and talent of this one man, there is obtained for his native town a collection of objects of natural history rivalling many of those in the greatest capitals of Europe, and admirably arranged in a convenient and handsome building prepared for the purpose.

I have said that the lake of Neuchâtel possesses but few features of interest, and certainly the passage by water from one extremity to the other offers nothing worthy of particular remark ; but in travelling by land there is one spot which ought not to be passed over, for the fairy-like effect which, under certain circumstances, is produced. This spot—for it is but a single *point-de-vue*—is situated about half way between Yverdon and Neuchâtel. As the two towns are one at the south, and the other at the northern extremity of the lake, the place I allude to is also equidistant from each end. The view is best seen in advancing from the south towards Neuchâtel, and it is the more striking from appearing suddenly, and without any previous warning. While strolling quietly on, admiring the constantly shifting colours of the lake, and now and then tracing the distant outline of the Oberland Alps, the prospect is changed by a sudden turn in the road towards the land side, caused by a small semicircular indentation ; and we pass along a natural terrace, which, from its singularly regular and perfect shape, one

might fancy had been artificially prepared for an enormous amphitheatre. Immediately behind this, the Jura mountains rise to a considerable height, on a regular slope, and are richly wooded and covered with the most beautiful forest trees. Standing in any part of this natural theatre, we see in front a small extent of richly cultivated land, descending to the lake in numerous and charming undulations, one of them forming a separate hill to the north, crowned with a few firs. Between this hill and the mountains to the south (which there, as also to the north, come quite to the water's edge) is seen a small chateau, old and picturesque; while the smooth calm waters of the lake, glittering in the sun, and reflecting in some places a purple, and in others a bright green colour, are apparently shut in by the trees and mountains, and give an inexpressible charm to the whole scene. But this is only a description of the foreground; the distant prospect is in perfect character, and the pencil of the artist could hardly do justice to Nature's admirable scenery in this spot. On the other side of the lake, which is nearly five miles in breadth, the ground rises gradually for some distance, till a long range of hills, covered with the richest vegetation, forms a noble and appropriate base to the highly picturesque outline of the Bernese and Oberland Alps, whose snowy peaks stand out boldly from the deep blue sky, and are clearly distinguishable from the clouds by their more accurate outline, which, through a Swiss atmosphere, is as perfectly and sharply defined as if their distance were five instead of fifty miles. This one prospect, which is seen to equal advantage, and with but little change, from all parts of the natural amphitheatre, is, to my mind, the redeeming point in the lake of Neuchâtel. There is little else of interest, except, perhaps, the first view of the lake, looking up it from the town of Yverdon, at its foot.

Yverdon itself is pretty, and has an air of comfortable, quiet antiquity, which is sufficiently pleasing. The prospect from its environs commands a view of the whole sheet of water, as far as the eye can reach, towards the north, shut in towards the west by the Jura mountains, and open to the east, so as to allow a tolerable though distant glimpse of the Oberland Alps.

The direct road to Lausanne, through Echales and Assens, presents nothing of interest; but by making a detour by Thierrens and Moudon, we see, perhaps, to as great advantage as anywhere, the characteristics of the sand-stone formation, or *molasse*, as it appears in the southern part of the great valley of Switzerland. I will conclude this chapter with a few words of remark on this route.

Some distance from Yverdon to the east, occurs a considerable hill of sand, and the scenery resembles very much that of the new red sandstone in the middle of England ; all traces of mountains are lost sight of, but the country is rich, pleasing, and well cultivated. Here and there the extremely incoherent nature of the deposit is exhibited by the appearance of an insignificant stream, which has cut its way through the very centre of the hills, and left naked, weather-worn, though still almost perpendicular, cliffs, as monuments of its energy and the little resistance it had met with.

Beyond this, there occurs nothing remarkable till we reach the town of Moudon, which is, without exception, the dirtiest, most uncomfortable, most wretched looking place, that I have seen in Switzerland. The neighbourhood is pretty ; and the road to Lausanne having by this time fallen in with the great high road from Berne, I will not fatigue the reader by informing him upon subjects on which a guide-book would be more useful, and perhaps more accurate. I soon again found myself at my head-quarters in Lausanne.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ASCENT OF THE DENT D'OÛCHE.

THOSE of my readers who, in traversing the lake of Geneva, have not been so blinded by the glories of Mont Blanc as to think all other mountains beneath their notice and unworthy of a place in their memory ; and those especially who have paused at Lausanne, and admired the prospect from the well-known "*signal*" above the town, will hardly have forgotten the outline of the Dent d'Oûche. This mountain—the highest of those rising immediately from the lake—is nearly opposite Lausanne, though a little to the east ; and in fine weather every part of its summit is seen with such extreme sharpness, and it looks as if it might be reached with such facility, and so very soon, that a stranger—particularly if he should feel himself strong and in good condition for walking—feels almost ashamed to shrink from accepting a challenge to exertion so temptingly held out. I should mention, too, that the distance across the lake *appears* as nothing, since one can see the church spire and the houses of a village on the other side, and the different shades of colour, marking the variety of forest trees on the mountain slope,

with as much clearness and facility as in our climate would happen, if the objects were not more than half a mile distant.*

Overcome, then, by the temptation, three friends and myself made up our minds, one fine August day, that the next morning should see us in Sardinia, and that we would manfully, and in spite of all difficulties, reach the wished-for summit before night. Accordingly, in the morning, we started; but—alas for our resolutions!—we had scarcely got fairly upon the water when one of those storms which occasionally come suddenly down from the mountains, without a moment's warning, was seen approaching from the head of the lake; and we had only just time to prepare for the deluge of rain that accompanied it, and were left to debate upon the expediency of returning and giving up our attempt. However, we were English, and could not think of acknowledging ourselves beaten; so resolved to go on, and at all events cross the lake. Before we had got half-way across we were fated to undergo another attack of the elements; and this time we only escaped by cutting a rope, from the effects of a still more violent gust coming in the opposite direction to the former, or up the lake. At length, though not till after a long passage and some danger, we got safely across and commenced our journey, striking at once into the woods, which come down almost to the water's edge. This, indeed, is singular and unexpected, for at a distance the whole district has a gloomy, sombre, and almost barren appearance, utterly inconsistent with the agreeable reality which now presented itself. The forests are made up of all varieties of trees, oak, beech, chesnut, walnut, and many others; and near the straggling villages the vines are trained upon them in the Italian manner, forming a far more picturesque object than the more valuable and regular vineyards of Switzerland.

Every thing announced that we were among a different people. There was a new cast of countenance, a new patois, a change of costume, and a complete change of habits; and although the advantage is, in all moral points, infinitely in favour of the Swiss, yet the rounded or oval face, the intelligent look, and the keen bright eye of the Savoyard, suffered little by comparison with the more careful and steady appearance of his Swiss neighbour.

After walking for some time, constantly ascending, we reached the limit of the forest, and found ourselves about half-way up a low range, of which the upper part appeared, from a distance, to be the

* The distance across the lake from Lausanne to Evian or Toronde (the nearest landing place), is about eight miles.

foot of the more rocky mountain we wished to scale. As it was now raining heavily, we attempted to obtain shelter and provision ; but wine, at least Swiss wine—which was the only wine the people knew of—being here contraband, and any thing like an inn or public-house utterly unknown, we in vain requested admission into the only decent house in the village, and were discussing our plans under the shelter of a broad pent-house, when we were accosted by a good Samaritan, who enquired if we should like some *boiled milk*. Anxious to be initiated into the mysteries of boiled milk, and wondering whether the people lived upon this beverage, we allowed ourselves to be conducted into the interior of a neighbouring hut, where a plentiful supply of soup, eggs, and bread and cheese, were the preludes to a liquor called, on the other side of the lake, *eau de cerises*—though not much resembling the well-known “*kirschen wasser*” of Germany—and a most portentous bottle of an indifferent red wine, all of which enlarged our ideas very considerably as to the nature of Savoy milk.

Having satisfied our appetites, we left these good people, and continued our attempts, but the rain again baffled us. At this altitude the moisture had not condensed into drops, but seemed like mist, the cloud which enveloped us being so thick that no object whatever, at a distance of twenty yards, could possibly be discerned ; and no sooner had this a little cleared than we were favoured with a thunder-storm immediately over our heads, so truly awful that we were but too willing to seek shelter, and give up all thoughts of the Dent d’Oche on that day. Accordingly we turned into a kind of a wretched farm house, and were permitted to warm and dry ourselves in the lower part of a chimney till the cloud had passed away, and the weather was a little more promising. However, it was then quite hopeless to think of advancing, and we descended to sleep that night at Meillerie, a town close to the lake. Next morning the weather was even more decidedly bad, and we were obliged to return to Lausanne without accomplishing our purpose.

It must not, however, be supposed that because we did not succeed on this occasion, the project of reaching the summit of the Dent d’Oche was for an instant lost sight of. As soon as the weather cleared, which it did in a few days, I and one of my former companions again crossed the lake, and, taking a more direct line than before, favoured, too, with most lovely weather, we soon reached the top of the inferior ridge already spoken of, and when we had done so were not a little surprised to see the real state of the case. Instead of being at the immediate foot of the mountain,

which at a distance appears to rise, without any break, from this low range, as a base, we were presented with a most beautiful and characteristic view of the mountainous country we were traversing, and found that there were two intervening valleys of no inconsiderable breadth, and another range of hills, higher than that we had just surmounted, before we should be at the mere foot of the Dent d'Oche ; and that from the foot there was much very severe climbing before we could reach the summit seemed pretty evident, even from the distance at which we were.

I cannot easily express our astonishment at this unexpected addition to our labours ; for until the moment of reaching this first summit there seemed no reason to expect more than a small natural plateau, from which, as from table land, the mountain should rise ; but no sooner had we taken one step beyond the summit than there suddenly burst upon the view one of the most striking, varied, and beautiful prospects of mountain scenery, ever presented to the eye. I will endeavour to give some idea of the nature, at least, of this charming panorama :—Immediately beyond and to the south of our position, was a descent much more precipitous than our ascent had been ; and this terminated in a broken rocky valley, shut in by a bold escarpment of rock, running in a straight line for some distance. To the right this valley widened, and was in some parts covered with corn-fields, and in others evidently used for pasturage, though there was no trace of man and no village in sight. Toward the south-west and west the valley was hemmed in by a great number of separate mountain peaks of the most picturesque outlines, clothed with grass on their summits, but having abundance of pine forest on their steep slopes. Beyond, among, and behind these, arose still higher and more fanciful mountains, naked, rugged, and sometimes just tipped with the most delicate white ; while in the extreme back-ground one might distinguish the mantles of eternal snow wrapping round the shoulders of more lofty eminences, and giving an appropriate finish to the prospect in that direction.

When, after dwelling on this delightful scenery, we turned to trace the valley towards the east, it was seen reduced to a narrow gorge, apparently closed in at no great distance, but, as we afterwards found, really making a turn towards the south, and opening out into another scene of pastoral and cultivated beauty. The view northwards was again completely different, and included the whole extent of the lake of Geneva, and a prospect extending as far as the eye could reach across the cultivated undulations, which render the great valley of Switzerland so valuable and so beautiful.

By the time we left the spot whence all these views may be admired, it was already past three o'clock, and we began to calculate the chances of our not arriving at the summit of our wishes, at all events, on that evening, although we were little aware even then of the distance that still remained. However, we attempted to get on by descending into the narrow gorge, as the first thing was to cross the range which separated us from the view of our mountain. This was a task neither easy nor devoid of danger, as the rock was naked and very precipitous. After some time we reached the bottom, and found it, as might have been anticipated at that season, the dry bed of a water-course. This we traced towards its source for a considerable distance, and at last, after an hour's walk, arrived at one of the chalet-villages used in the summer, when the herds are on the mountains, for the mutual accommodation of men and cattle. Here we feasted upon milk curds and cheese, and might have devoured a quantity of their bread, could we but have persuaded our stomachs that the black, pasty, sour stuff put before us, was *really* bread, and not soft clay. On the whole, however, we did very well, and afterwards crossed, without much difficulty, the second ridge, which had so much annoyed us, and found ourselves, towards sunset, really within sight of the noble mountain to scale which we had taken such pains.

In reaching the plateau from which the *teeth* seem to spring, we had had very severe work ; and by the time we fairly arrived at the spot whence the climbing must begin, the sun was setting, we were far from human habitations, and, indeed, hardly knew where we might find any village to serve as sleeping-quarters for the night. Guessing, in some measure, at the direction, we pushed on, however, and at length saw two neat-looking chalets on the mountain side, not very far off. On arriving at these, we called in vain for some time, but discovered at length that the little settlement, from which we had hoped so much, was deserted. We consulted at first as to whether it would not be better to break open these huts and make sure, at all events, of the *shelter* they would afford ; but seeing a light in the distance, it was finally resolved that we should make for that, and try one more chance. This light, fortunately, proceeded from another chalet, which we reached with some difficulty, and found inhabited by four men, who were smoking and drinking as they sat in bed, nearly naked, in an atmosphere which more nearly resembled that of the inside of a kettle of boiling water than any other that can be conceived. Comfortable as they were, however, these really hospitable people did

not hesitate to do all in their power to assist us. One of them got up and accompanied us some little distance, leading us to the path—that is, the water-course ; by following which, we were told, we should in time arrive at a village. We parted with our good-natured friends, and attempted to keep in the direction indicated ; but it soon appeared that although a stream of water might be a good guide, it was a bad companion ; for, besides being very noisy and talkative, it was too much given to put itself in our way at sundry little turns to make us anxious to keep up a closer acquaintance than was necessary. A pine forest, too, which we next came to, increased our difficulties, for the trees grew quite down to the water's edge ; and to thread our way without continually walking through deep pools of water, was by no means an easy task. However, a dark night and the prospect of shelter, to say nothing of sundry intimations of the expediency of supper, reconciled us to a walk which, I really think, few would have attempted in broad day-light.

Our efforts were rewarded with success ; for we at last discovered an artificial arrangement of planks, forming the rudest of bridges, and, satisfied with this indication of man, we went on more cheerfully, until my companion distinguished at a distance, against the clear blue sky, certain leaves and branches which he decided must belong to a cherry-tree. His conclusion proved well founded, and the sight of a chimney not long after told us how nearly we were approaching the termination of our labours.

We soon made known our wants, and on explaining that we were benighted travellers, the good people put fresh sticks on the fire ; for even in the height of summer the evenings are cold on this mountain district : and we all sat round the low hearth, discussing the best thing to be done ; the good people regretting that they had no accommodation to offer, and advising us to go on still to the village, which was not more than a quarter of an hour distant, and where we should be more comfortable than any where else in the neighbourhood, since there was a house built of stone, and belonged to a rich and very important person. As our informant had really no room unoccupied in the place of his present abode (though he himself was also an important person—vice-syndic of the commune—and residing for the summer in his *villa*, not without an eye, most likely, to the preservation of his flocks and herds), we made up our minds to proceed, but were not suffered to depart alone, as M. le Viça-Syndica insisted upon walking with us the rest of the way, lest any other mistake should be made. We arrived, therefore, in due time, at the village, and parted with our guide on the most friendly

terms, after he had done us the kindness of pointing out, among the few miserable cabins, that which was constructed of hewn stone, a luxury of building evidently looked upon as quite unusual. We soon obtained entrance into this noble mansion, though not without some alarm, when we first entered, lest we had, by mistake, violated the sanctuary of the pig-stye, but that it was only the kitchen was soon made evident by the savoury fumes of garlic saluting our hungry nostrils. As soon as our eyes had become accustomed to the darkness visible of this smoky interior, we saw seated around a wood fire three complete generations of sturdy Savoyards.— There was the aged grandfather, and the still more antiquated looking old crone of a grandmother, far past all active exertion, but leaning over and enjoying the genial warmth of the dying embers. Those of the middle generation were more actively employed, preparing the evening meal for the family ; while the younger party of boys and girls were all busy picking hemp.

Our entrance hardly disturbed the arrangements : it was evidently quite a matter of course that, if we were travellers who had lost our way, we should take up our lodging with them ; and about the first question asked us was, not if we would take supper, but if we liked onions in our soup. Having answered this important question satisfactorily, we soon saw the process of cookery commenced. The copper stew-pan was placed on the fire, a lump of fat first put in, then a large onion carefully sliced into the fat, and afterwards about a tablespoonful of meal stirred into this curious mixture. When the ingredients had been properly mingled into one harmonious whole, about two quarts of water were added, and the mess stirred till it boiled. Then a few slices of bread concluded the important process, and our supper was prepared. Afterwards we were provided with a very tolerable bed, and next morning breakfast, to enable us to contend with the fatigues of the day. We started early, beginning the ascent by following a very steep road along the flanks of a fine forest, and just at the edge of a deep rocky gorge ; and in the course of an hour we had worked our way round the upper part of this gorge, by the aid of an intelligent little Savoyard, whose bright laughing eye, clear dark complexion, and round face, were well set off by his picturesque rags, and appropriately crowned by the broad-brimmed straw hat universal in this part of the country.

This little fellow seemed well acquainted with the wild animals inhabiting his native forests ; but our medium of communication was not so complete as to enable us to gain all the information we wished. The Savoy patois one might fancy to be a mixture of

French words with Italian pronunciation, and Italian words sounding like French ; and it is almost incomprehensible without great practice. However, we learnt that bears, wolves, badgers, wild cats, hares, and foxes, are all occasionally met with ; and there can be no doubt that these extensive and almost impenetrable forests, quite untrodden by man, must shelter abundance of game ; since the absence of the great enemy—man—requires and allows of the existence of a considerable variety of inferior ones. On our way up the side of the gorge we saw many waterfalls, and heard many more. Few sounds are more striking, or break the stillness of an uninhabited district with finer effect, than the rush of falling waters, mingling with the hoarse murmurs of the wind, moaning and sighing as it passes through extensive and unbroken forests, and sweeping along without anything but rocks and trees to impede its course.

Having reached the upper part of the gorge, we now found ourselves about a mile from the elevated plateau, out of which the principal peaks called the Dents d'Oche seem to spring, rising, as they really do, like enormous *teeth*, and looking so precipitous on all sides that, even when one is close to them, there is no apparent means of reaching their pointed summits.

It would be difficult to describe these singular peaks more accurately than by comparing them to the triangular serrated teeth of some kinds of sharks, as they are naturally set in the animal's jaw. The highest of the peaks rises, perhaps, as much as a thousand feet above the plateau, and the two others are also of very great height. Their nearly vertical faces are in an east and west direction ; and although they appear nearly as unapproachable on the one side as on the other, it is towards the south that the ascent must be made, and it is an ascent not without great danger and extreme difficulty. We hired a guide from a neighbouring chalet, and soon commenced climbing. The first part of the way is comparatively easy, and is marked by a foot track for sheep, goats, &c. ; but this, after a short time, ceases, and then one is obliged to get on in any way upon hands and knees ; sometimes crawling over sharp loose stones, at others, sinking in the crisp, lately-fallen snow ; and occasionally stepping cautiously upon tufts of coarse, wet, slippery grass, which threatened every moment to give way beneath our feet. After advancing for about half an hour in this way, we reached the first summit, and had then to complete our labours by crawling carefully along a narrow ridge of not more than four or five feet in breadth, with a precipice on each side descending almost perpendicularly to a

distance of several hundred feet. By advancing along this parapet, we at length attained the highest point.

The view from the summit is, of course, very extensive, and towards the Swiss side of the lake of Geneva almost boundless; but towards the south the intervening mountains are too near and too lofty to allow of our having that view of the valley of Chamounix and the Mont Blanc which we had fondly anticipated, and which, perhaps, more than anything else, excited us to overcome all difficulties. We had, indeed, no lack of mountains to amuse us; for the whole country, for many miles, and farther than the eye could reach, is without the slightest vestige of plain ground, or even of a valley with a greater width than a few hundred yards. There was a great deal of snow upon the sides and tops of the neighbouring peaks, and the mountains in the distance were some of them completely covered. Our altitude was about 7,800 feet above the level of the sea; and the number of elevations—between six and eight thousand feet—which occur within the circuit of a few square miles, render the prospect from hence, perhaps, more extraordinary, than, though not so striking as, that from other and more celebrated *points-de-vue* in the neighbourhood of higher mountains.

During the whole morning that we spent upon the ascending and admiring part of our day's journey, we were favoured with the most beautiful weather imaginable. While on the top, we saw several small clouds at a great distance beneath us, some of them so exceedingly delicate in their structure, that the outline of a mountain, or the colour of a forest, could be seen through them. It was very pretty and interesting, to watch (as we had the opportunity of doing) the gradual formation of a cloud out of the thin mist constantly rising from the forests, when the sun was shining brightly and warmly upon them. At first, a greyish tint, giving the slightest conceivable obscurity to the outline of the dark-green patch of forest, was all that could be noticed. Soon this would become more decided; and the warm vapours, slowly condensing, presented a flocculent appearance, which, in a very short time, became more decidedly cloud-like; and before long would move off bodily in a shape somewhat resembling that of the frame-work upon which it was formed. After a time, the same thing would take place again; and thus the moisture be gradually evaporated from these great receptacles, which were thus again ready for the subsequent rain, when their produce is once more returned to them.

The descent was not, as we feared it might be, more dangerous than the ascent. Our guide took us to a spot where the action of

the weather or some other natural cause, had worn away the rock in one place ; and the stones and debris being very abundant, and lying upon the face of the precipice with a natural inclination, we could, by merely planting our feet firmly, descend by our own gravity at a moderate pace, and thus slide down a declivity which it would be quite hopeless to attempt to climb up. During our descent we saw a few ptarmigans, and, while on the top, several large birds of prey, which (though I do not venture to assert it too positively) might have been eagles.

We returned by nearly the same route that we had followed in our ascent, till we reached the village of our last night's adventure ; and then continuing in this valley—which is extremely pretty, and much better cultivated than any other part of Savoy we had seen—we reached in the evening the village of Evian, and crossed the lake by moonlight to Lausanne, much gratified by our trip, and not a little pleased that we had triumphed over the threatening teeth, which might well have alarmed more hardy mountaineers than ourselves.

D. T. A.

ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

BY THE REV. HENRY CHRISTMAS, M.A.

THE most important, as well as the most interesting light in which magic can be viewed, is its supposed connection with medical science—a connection which was not, in the beginning, to be treated with ridicule. It could not even be rejected, much less derided, until an increased knowledge of natural philosophy had taught mankind at least to conjecture where might be the bounds of their power over natural substances. When Bacon declared the probability of those wonders which seemed so impossible to his contemporaries, he was supposed to mean that in subsequent periods magic would be openly and successfully practised ; and it is not a little to the credit of his discernment that he so well calculated the probable limits of scientific acquirement. Fifty years ago, had any writer said that in the course

of half a century it would be possible to go from London to Bristol in two hours, he would have been generally disbelieved ; but if his learning and wisdom in other respects had caused any one to give credit to him in this, the difficulty would only have been solved by supposing the aid of infernal power. Now, though no one has yet witnessed so rapid a rate of travelling, we are, when told of its probable accomplishment, by no means unwilling to believe it. There is one sense in which we must always acknowledge "occult causes" and "occult properties," although we no longer call them by names so mystical. Medicines are administered every day, at whose mode of operating we cannot even guess : we have a tolerable idea of the probable result, and with this it is very likely we must for ever be content. We can hardly say what is and what is not beyond the bounds of human investigation ; but if we consider the extreme difficulty which invests many subjects—such, for example, as the effect of volition upon the nerves, and through them on the muscles, the nature of animal life, and many others which might be instanced—we shall hardly expect even an approximation to the truth.

These considerations, while they may prevent our looking with contempt on the superstitions from which even the philosophers of the middle ages were not wholly free, cannot fairly be adduced to excuse the same notions in the present day. And we are, therefore, entitled, whenever any claims of the kind are set up, to treat those who assert them either as enthusiasts or impostors. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have, however, produced their wonder-workers in the way of medical magic ; and the most curious instance on record, perhaps, in the history of the world, is Animal Magnetism. The effects which were certainly produced by the animal magnetisers, the number and importance of those who avowed their belief in it, and the length of time during which it flourished, make it well worthy of consideration. The virtues of the loadstone had been greatly extolled by the ancients ; it had been even declared possessed of a rational soul, and capable of great moral agencies over the human constitution. Probably on account of its attracting iron, it was supposed to be endowed with a general power of attraction ; and was hence used to heal dissensions in families, to excite love, and to promote friendship. In a case like this, and in an age like that of which we speak, any analogy, however slight, was a sufficient foundation for a belief in such qualities ; they could not be too absurd to be credited, and if a cause was asked, the "occult properties of nature" was an answer always ready and always satisfactory. Many of these notions

came down to later times. Paracelsus, in his *Archidosorum*, gives such a list of remedies as may even match those of Pliny; but when he speaks of the loadstone he becomes, if not very correct, at least not very unreasonable. Trusting to its power of attracting iron, he orders it to be reduced to a powder, and applied, in the shape of a plaster, to wounds, in order to draw out the particles of iron which might by abrasion remain in the flesh. The idea that this remedy was an effective one was so strong that, though Dr. Gilbert, of Colchester, wrote expressly against it so far back as 1600, demonstrating that by being pulverized it was deprived of its attractive force, it continued in vogue for upwards of a hundred years later, and is not, among the lower classes, altogether discontinued in the present day. Paracelsus had so high an opinion of the medical virtues lodged in the magnet, that there were but few diseases which he considered would not yield to its attractive power; and those few were soon added by Van Helmont and his other disciples. It seems singular that they did not congratulate themselves upon having, in this mineral, obtained the elixir of life. The science of magnetism had by this time begun to excite the attention of the philosophical world; and those remarkable facts which it developed, and which were already ascertained, presented a basis sufficiently broad for the erection of many fanciful and ingenious theories. The idea was soon caught that magnetism was a subtle, invisible fluid, passing through the whole universe, and which, though only as yet known through the medium of the loadstone and iron, was yet existing and operating in every other substance. Kircher entertained this opinion, and distinguishes accordingly between animal, vegetable, and mineral magnetism. As, however, the loadstone was the only substance known through which any magnetic experiments could be made, physicians were obliged to exhibit mineral magnetism alone in cases of disease, trusting to the sameness of the fluid, and the gentleness of its operation in this state.

M. le Noble, a French ecclesiastic, obtained great celebrity, in 1775, from his mode of applying the magnet in cases of nervous and spasmodic affections, particularly in tic douloureux. His plan was, to cause powerful but light magnets to be worn in the dress, near the parts disordered; as, for instance, in caps, for nervous headache. His success being noticed, he was induced to apply, in 1777, to the Royal Society of Medicine in Paris, and to request that a committee appointed by that body would examine the virtues of his magnetic dresses. The request was complied with. M. Andry and M. Thou-

ret were appointed as a committee, and, after a long and patient investigation, delivered a report greatly in favour of the plan pursued by M. le Noble.

While this was going on at Paris, a jesuit at Vienna had made use of magnetised steel plates, in medical cases, with considerable success. This man, whose name was Hell, appears to have been somewhat of an empiric, if not wholly so; for he attributed the success which he obtained, not so much to the magnetic fluid, as to the peculiar shape of his plates. Among those who witnessed his practice, and, in fact, assisted in it, was Anton Mesmer, a man who had taken his degree of M.D. at the University of Vienna at the age of thirty-two, and who had commenced his medical career by writing a treatise "On the Influence of the Planets on the Human Body." This, which shows the nature of Mesmer's studies, may be regarded as a first step towards those doctrines which he subsequently maintained. Mesmer employed the plates which Hell had made; and having performed some remarkable cures, he attributed them to his mode of employing the plates, and to the magnetic fluid which they contained. Hell published the results of Mesmer's experiments, but gave only as a cause the form which he had himself devised for the plates. Mesmer replied, and Hell rejoined; and as notoriety appears to have been Mesmer's aim, he was not much disappointed when the victory was evidently Hell's.

While the dispute between these two quacks continued, Mesmer was always writing and talking about his pretended discoveries. Had Mesmer been a truly philosophical enquirer, he would have been pronounced on the very verge of an important discovery, so singular are some of his assertions. "*I have observed,*" says he, "*that the magnetic matter is almost the same as the electric fluid, and that it may be propagated in the same manner as this, by means of intermediate bodies.*" It has been suspected in our own day, and, indeed, more than suspected, that magnetism and electricity are, in fact, one and the same fluid seen under different circumstances.* But the character of Mesmer forbids us to suppose that his remark was more than a chance illustration; the very next words destroy the illusion:—"Steel is not the only substance adapted for the purpose; I have rendered bread, paper, wool, silk, leather, stones, glass, wood, men, dogs, in short, everything I touched, magnetic to such an extent that

* See Prof. Barlow's paper, "On the probable Electric Origin of all the Phenomena of Terrestrial Magnetism," *Phil. Trans.*, 1831.

these substances produced the same effects as the loadstone on the diseased. I have charged jars with magnetic matter in the same way as is done with electricity." This is an extract from a letter addressed to a friend at Vienna (M. Unzer), and such were the statements which he made in various communications to the learned societies of Europe, praying them to examine his pretensions, as the Royal Society of Medicine in Paris had done those of M. le Noble. All these, save the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, treated the application with silent contempt; and that, by way of answer, refuted his theory. It may be remarked that the chief case upon which Mesmer relied was that of a Madlle. Cesterline, who had been for some years living in his house. This young lady, who was, he tells us, suffering under a horrible complication of disorders, recovered by his magnetic treatment; and the whole tenor of the account is such as to imply that she was cured by a very skilful application of the magnetic fluid. But so absurd were his ideas of the magnet, and the mode of conducting the fluid, that his whole theory was shown to be unworthy of reception by the Academy. Finding that so inconsistent a scheme would not at all answer his purpose—finding, in fact, that the scientific men of that day were too addicted to close investigation to allow any falsehood to be propagated under the mask of science—Dr. Mesmer adroitly altered his plan, declared that the Berlin Academy had altogether misunderstood him, and having thus rescued himself from the grasp of philosophical enquiry, he took refuge in a profundity which would not have disgraced Paracelsus himself. He now came forward with a new theory—not avowedly so, but yet greatly differing from that which he had hitherto maintained. The magnet was the instrument in his hands, he said, of conducting not only the magnetic fluid commonly so called, but another subtle influence, which he called Animal Magnetism, and which he uniformly refused to explain. He considered this influence, if not centred, at least highly concentrated, in his own person; and he republished his observations on the case of Madlle. Cesterline, in a form accommodated to this new theory. While thus employed at Vienna, he was not idle in experimentalizing; but failing in his attempts to cure some eminent persons, and having involved himself in a dispute with many of the faculty at that city; and being, moreover, rather discouraged by the court, and looked upon with great disdain by the learned, he left Austria, and, after travelling in many parts of Germany and Switzerland, finally settled at Paris.

Sprongel* says that having undertaken to cure a girl named Paradis (a pensioner of the empress) of blindness, he, on declaring that he had succeeded, was found, on examination, to have been guilty of such gross imposture as to receive an imperial order to leave Vienna in twenty-four hours. At all events, it is certain that, in the beginning of 1778, he left Austria, and went to Paris. Here he at once entered upon practise, and wrote, in 1779 his "*Memoire sur la decouverte du Magnetisme Animal*," in which he expresses himself as follows :—"The magnetic fluid is a fluid universally diffused ; it is the medium of a mutual influence between the heavenly bodies ; it is so continuous as to have no end ; its subtlety admits of no comparison ; it is capable of receiving, propagating, communicating, all the impressions of motion ; it is susceptible of flux and reflux. The animal body experiences the effects of this agent ; and it is by insinuating itself into the substance of the nerves that it affects them immediately. There are," he observed, "particularly in the human body, properties analogous to those of the magnet ; and in it are discerned poles equally different and opposite. The action and the virtues of Animal Magnetism may be communicated from one body to other bodies, animate and inanimate. This action takes place at a remote distance, without the aid of any intermediate body : it is increased, reflected by mirrors ; communicated, propagated, augmented by sound ; its virtues may be accumulated, concentrated, transported. Although this fluid is universal, all animated bodies are not equally susceptible of it ; there are even some, though a very small number, which have properties so opposite, that their very presence destroys all the effects of this fluid on other bodies. Animal Magnetism is capable of healing diseases of the nerves immediately, and all other diseases mediately ; it perfects the action of medicines ; it excites and directs salutary crises in such a manner that the physician may render himself master of them. By its means, he knows the state of health of each individual, and judges with certainty of the origin, the nature, and the progress of the most complicated diseases ; he prevents their increase, and succeeds in healing them without at any time exposing his patient to dangerous effects or troublesome consequences, whatever be the age, the temperament, and the sex.†" And in the preface to the same work he unhesitating declares, "In Ani-

* *Sondschriben uber Thier. Mag.*, p. 104.

† *Memoire*, p. 74.

mal Magnetism, nature presents an unusual method of healing and preserving mankind."

As a commentary on these assertions, we may notice the interview which took place between Mesmer and Dr. Ingenhousz. The doctor had, it appears from Mesmer's account, spoken slightly of the magnetic theory, and even went so far as to recommend him not to publish his experiments; the reply was, "come and see them yourself;" and a relapse of Madlle. Esterline, who was resident in Mesmer's house at the time, afforded an admirable opportunity for the display of his magnetic process. Dr. Ingenhousz came. "The patient," says Mesmer, "was then in a faint accompanied with convulsions. I informed him that this was a favourable occasion for him to convince himself of the existence of the principle which I had announced to him, and of the property which he himself possessed of communicating it; I made him go near the patient, from whom I retired, desiring him to touch her. He did so; she did not move; I called him back, and, taking him by the hand, communicated to him the animal magnetism. I then made him go again near the patient, keeping myself always at a distance, and desired him to touch her a second time, the result of which was, her being thrown into convulsive motions. I made him repeat this touch several times, which he did with the point of his finger, varying his direction each time, and, to his great astonishment, he produced always a convulsive effect in that part which he touched. At the termination of these operations, he told me that he was convinced. I proposed to him a second trial; we retired from the patient, so as not to be perceived by her even if she should recover her consciousness. I presented to Dr. Ingenhousz six porcelain cups, and begged him to point out the one to which he wished me to communicate the magnetic virtue. I touched that which he chose, and made him apply successively the six cups to the hand of the patient. When he came to that which I had touched, her hand moved, and she appeared to feel pain. Dr. Ingenhousz having repeated the experiment with the six cups, the same effects were produced, I then put back the cups into the place from which they had been taken, and after a short time, taking hold of one of his hands, I desired him to touch with the other any of the cups which he pleased: he did this, and the cups being brought into contact with the patient, the same effects were produced as before. The communicability of the principle being thus established to the satisfaction of Ingenhousz, I proposed to him a third experiment, in order to make him acquainted with its action at a distance, and its

penetrating virtue. I directed my finger towards the patient, at the distance of about eight paces ; and immediately the body became convulsed, so as to raise it upon her bed with the appearances of pain. I continued, in the same manner, to direct my finger towards the patient, placing, at the same time, Ingenhousz between her and me. She experienced the same sensation. These trials being repeated at the pleasure of Ingenhousz, I asked him if he was satisfied with them, and convinced of the wonderful properties which I had announced to him, offering, if he were not, to repeat our trials. His answer was that he had nothing more to desire, and that he was convinced ; but he exhorted me, by the regard which he had for me, not to communicate anything relative to this matter to the public, in order not to expose myself to its incredulity." Subsequently we find Dr. Ingenhousz, both in writing and by word, declaring that the whole affair was a preconcerted trick between Mesmer and his patient ; and his words to the latter, even by his own report, are very ambiguous and unsatisfactory.

In all this, we find no attempt made to attribute the effects produced to the magnet ; the experiments were made by Mesmer with his finger, and by Ingenhousz by cups which Mesmer had touched : and this was the plan which was pursued at Paris. Here, as at Vienna, apartments were arranged for the reception of patients, and a peculiar apparatus established. This apparatus, though not considered necessary, as we see by Madlle. Q^uesterline's case, was yet deemed very important. It was called the "baquet," (bucket), and consisted of a large circular vessel of oak, about eighteen inches high, and covered with a top pierced full of holes. It was filled with powdered glass, iron filings, sawdust, and bottles of water, which had been previously subjected to Mesmer's operation by the finger. Through the holes were thrust iron rods, a long one and a short one alternately, bent outwards at top, as conductors of the fluid. Round this baquet, the patients were placed in rows, one behind another ; and the rods being accommodated to their position, they placed them in contact with those parts of the body in which was seated their disease. In a corner of the room was a piano-forte, on which slow and solemn airs were played ; for sound, as we have seen above, was a means of conducting animal magnetism. Meantime it was more actively elicited by the rod and the finger of the operator, who placed his hand or his rod on the seat of disease. The practise of Mesmer at Paris could not fail of exciting attention ; and as many remarkable effects were really produced, the absurd theories of the supposed in-

ventor did not nullify the claim which these effects presented to scientific investigation. Among the earliest as well as the most important converts to this new agency was M. d'Eslon, doctor regent of the Faculty of Medicine at Paris, and physician to M. le Comte d'Artois. He, without adopting any theory, recognized the effects produced by Mesmer's mode of operating, and operated himself in the same way. His conduct caused him to suffer much opposition from the faculty; and at last, to justify himself, he published a list of his own observations. This, as might have been expected, did but add fuel to the fire; and when, a short time afterwards, he laid before the Royal Academy of Medicine four proposals for investigating the pretensions of Mesmer, that body replied by requiring him to be more cautious, by suspending him from exercising his vote in their assembly for a year, and if, at the expiration of that time, he persisted in his new creed, they threatened to erase his name from their lists. As to the propositions, they unanimously rejected them; but by this time it was become a matter of indifference to Mesmer what the faculty thought of him or his proceedings. He had many patients, and more were continually flocking both to him and to d'Eslon; indeed, scientific investigation was by no means to his taste, and he expressly stipulated that any inquiries should be, not as to how his cures were performed, but whether they were performed or not. So great was his popularity, and so implicit the confidence which his patients placed in him, that he had but to announce his intention of quitting France, and the very throne was besieged with petitions that some inducement should be held out by government to retain him in France. His own demand, when applied to, was singularly modest. He merely required a large estate which he named, and a splendid income by way of fixed salary; to have no public duties, but to be at free leisure to use his powers as he pleased, and he, in return for these trifles, would make France his residence. It would hardly be believed, were it not a matter of history, that Louis XVI. actually offered Mesmer 30,000*l.* per annum, on condition of taking three pupils, to be named by the government. This offer, however, was refused. Mesmer calculated that his practice was worth much more, and that the salary offered would not compensate him for the necessity of revealing his secret to three persons named by the government. He resolved now to quit France, and retired accordingly to Spain, where he practised as he had done in Paris.

In the meantime, the year appointed by the Royal Society of Medicine to M. d'Eslon, to review his opinions in, had elapsed: and he

was summoned by that body, either to retract his belief in animal magnetism, or to submit to expulsion ; but d'Eslon was too convinced of the efficacy of this new agent, and probably found it too profitable, as well as too successful, to resign. Instead of appearing before the Academy, he avowed himself a practitioner of animal magnetism ; and was accordingly, with several other members of the same body, who had been convinced by his experiments, formally expelled. On hearing of this, Mesmer exclaimed against d'Eslon, as he had formerly done against Father Hell ; and complained that attempts were made to rob him of the reward of his discoveries. His popularity in Paris had not declined in consequence of his temporary absence ; and his complaints were so well listened to, that a very large sum was raised, by way of subscription, to secure the continuance of magnetism, and to reward its discoverer. Mesmer now returned to Paris, and continued his practise and his lectures. Berthollet, among others, attended them, and has left on record his opinion (which he communicated to Mesmer at the time) that the mysterious influence so much vaunted of did not exist, and that all the effects of magnetism were produced by the excited imagination of the parties, and by the heat, friction, &c., employed in the process. However, M. Berthollet's opinion, valuable as it might be in the estimation of scientific men, was not of much avail in a case where the stream of popular favour ran so strong. It was determined that, without regard to the expense, all the elements, principles, and applications of this new science, should be carefully engraved ; and that, in order to preserve to them a suitable and merited dignity, only one copy should be delivered to those who should be collectively authorized to establish a magnetic institution and courses of instruction in some towns that were fixed upon. The physicians of Lyons acquired one of these copies, secured against an indiscreet publicity by the precaution of having the essential and technical words expressed by figures or signs, of which we are furnished with the key. Hence the mystery that has always surrounded that science and its practice, which undoubtedly might have been very useful in the exercise of ordinary medicine. "As survivor, I possess this engraved work in all its integrity." These words were addressed by M. Picher Grand-champs, of Lyons (one of the disciples of Mesmer), to M. Bourdois de la Motte, who was, in 1825, the president of a commission appointed to examine and report upon Animal Magnetism. This is mysterious enough ; but Mad. Campan gives, in her journal, an anecdote still more strong. M. Campan, who was a decided believer in

magnetism, was by his own desire removed to the house of Mesmer, when suffering from pleurisy. While there, Mad. C., of course, visited him frequently, and begged to know what treatment M. Mesmer thought of employing. "I purpose," he replied, "to introduce into the bed of the patient, by his left side, one of three things—a young woman of a dark complexion, a black hen, or an empty bottle." "Sir," said Mad. Campan, "if it is all the same to you, I should prefer your trying the empty bottle." Here was a choice of remedies which, since the dark ages, can hardly be paralleled. This was indeed calling into exercise "the occult properties of things."

Some other similar circumstances had already begun to exert an influence on the public mind, when the theory was subjected to a more searching investigation than any which it had yet experienced—an enquiry which, in the eyes of the philosophical world, finally settled the question of Animal Magnetism. A commission was formed by royal authority, of which the following celebrated men were members: the president, Bailly the astronomer, Lavoisier, and Benjamin Franklin. The others were Salir, D'Arcet, Guillotin, and Majault, members of the Faculty of Medicine at Paris; and le Roi, de Bory, and the three above-named members of the Royal Academy of Sciences. The report was drawn up by Bailly; and, after describing the "baquet," he thus goes on to notice its effects:—"The sick persons, arranged in great numbers, and on several rows round the baquet, thus receive the magnetism by all these means—by the iron rods, which convey to them that of the baquet; by the cords wound around their bodies, and by the connection of their thumbs, which communicate to them that of their neighbours; by the sound of the piano-forte, or of an agreeable voice, diffusing the magnetism in the air. The patients were also directly magnetised by means of the finger and rod of the magnetiser, moved before their faces, above or behind their heads, and on the diseased parts, always observing the distinction of poles. The magnetiser acts on them by fixing his eyes on them; but above all they are magnetised by the application of his hands, and by the pressure of his fingers on the hypochondres, and on the regions of the abdomen—an application often continued for a long time, sometimes for several hours. Meantime the patients, in their different conditions, present a very varied picture. Some are calm, tranquil, and experience no effect; others cough, spit, feel slight pains, local or general, heat, and have sweatings; others, again, are agitated and tormented with convulsions. These convulsions are remarkable with regard to the number affected with them, to their du-

ration and force. As soon as one begins to be convulsed, several others are affected. The commissioners have observed some of these convulsions last more than three hours ; they are accompanied by the expectorations of a muddy viscous water, brought away by the violent efforts. Sometimes streaks of blood have been observed in this fluid ; and among others there is a sick young man who often brings up large quantities of blood. These convulsions are characterized by the precipitous involuntary motion of all the limbs, and of the whole body ; by the constriction of the throat ; by the leaping motion of the hypochondres and the epigastrium ; by the dimness and wandering of the eyes ; by piercing shrieks, tears, sobbing, and immoderate laughter ; they are preceded or followed by a state of languor and reverie, a kind of depression, and even drowsiness. The smallest unforeseen noise occasions shudderings ; and it was remarked that the change of tone and measure in the airs played on the piano-forte had an influence on the patients ; so that a quicker motion agitated them more, and renewed the vivacity of their convulsions. Nothing is more astonishing than the spectacle of these convulsions : one who has not seen them can form no idea of them. The spectator is equally astonished at the profound repose of one part of the patients, and the agitation which animates the rest ; at the various accidents which are repeated, and the sympathies which are established. Some patients you will observe devoting their exclusive attention to each other, rushing towards one another, smiling, speaking with affection, and mutually soothing their crises (convulsions). All are under the power of the magnetiser ; it matters not in what state of drowsiness they be, his voice, a look, a gesture, brings them out of it. Among the patients in convulsions were always observed a great many women, and few men ; the first convulsions were always one or two hours in being formed, and as soon as one was formed, all the rest began successively in a short time. It is impossible not to recognize in these constant efforts a great power which agitates the patients, and of which the magnetiser appears to be the depository."

Such were the effects of Animal Magnetism, as observed by such men as Bailly, Lavoisier, and Franklin. But it was not merely the effect of this powerful agent, whatever it might be, thus formally elicited, that the commissioners wished to observe ; they examined individual cases, and noticed the consequences of private magnetising. Two cases we shall mention, as examples ; for all were of the same nature, and attended with nearly the same results. It was asserted by the magnetists that a tree might be made the de-

positary of the magnetic influence, and affect accordingly all who came under it, or even near it. A tree, says Mesmer, was magnetised by "first touching it, and then retiring a few steps from it; all the while directing the fluid upon it, from the branches towards the trunk, and from the trunk towards the root." On some occasions, circular seats were placed round the tree, and cords suspended from it so as to supply the place of the "baquet." When the patients had seated themselves, they wrapped the cords round the diseased parts of their bodies, and formed a chain of communication by their thumbs. The magnetiser was furnished with a rod, and proceeded in the same way which Mesmer adopted in his public apartments. A tree was magnetised in Dr. Franklin's garden at Passy, and one of M. d'Eslon's patients subjected to its influence. Mesmer would allow no investigation to be made of his proceedings; but M. d'Eslon, being willing to facilitate the enquiries of the commissioners, all their remarks apply to his practise, which, as performed by precisely the same means, and attended with the same results, cannot, without great inconsistency, be considered as a different system.

A youth of twelve years of age was brought into the garden (he was aware for what purpose), and led first to one tree, then to another. He had, it should be remarked, no knowledge of which tree had been magnetised; and his eyes were bandaged, that he should not see the operations of M. d'Eslon, who continued to magnetise a particular tree. Under this arrangement, all the symptoms indicated by animal magnetism were brought on, and finally a crisis was produced at a distance of twenty-seven feet from the tree that had been magnetised. This case was (the commissioners remarked), even by itself, decisive. Had the boy been insensible to the effects of magnetism under the tree on which M. d'Eslon had operated, it might have been attributed to his insensibility to the fluid; as it was, the effects were produced without the agency of M. d'Eslon at all. Again, two women, chosen by M. d'E. himself, were brought to Dr. Franklin's house, and, after having their eyes bandaged, were induced to believe that M. d'Eslon was magnetising them; the crisis came on accordingly, though nothing was done. But, in order to make the case still clearer than even these instances had done, one of M. d'E.'s patients was actually operated upon by him, in the presence of some of the commissioners, without her being aware of it, and no effects were produced. The report of the commissioners, therefore, declared, very much in the words which Berthollet had before employed, that after five months examination, and after carefully seeking (but in vain) for proofs of the existence of a magnetic

fluid, such as that asserted by Mesmer and d'Eslon—after submitting themselves to its action, in varied ways, without experiencing any effect—and after having further ascertained that all the effects produced by it could be elicited where it was not even pretended to be employed—that magnetism could produce no effects without the aid of an excited imagination, and that the imagination, when excited, could effect all that was attributed to magnetism. They did not hesitate to ascribe all the wonders they had witnessed to the power of the imagination, the tendency of imitation natural to all mankind, and the animal heat and friction employed by the magnetists; and, further, they considered Animal Magnetism hurtful and dangerous to society, particularly in a moral point of view.* This

* A "Memoire Secrete" was presented to the king at the same time with the report which we have just noticed, and it contains some remarkable particulars: "Les commissaires ont reconnu que les principales causes des effets attribués au Magnétisme Animal, sont l'attouchement, l'imagination, l'imitation, et ils ont observé qu'il y avoit languors beaucoup plus de femmes que d'hommes encore cette difference, a pour premiere cause la differente organisation des deux sexes. Les femmes ont en general des nerfs plus mobiles, leur imagination est plus vive et plus exalté. Il est facile de la frapper de la mettre en mouvement. Cette grande mobilité ex leur donnant des sens plus delicats et plus e quis les rend plus susceptibles des impressions de l'attouchement. En les touchant dans une partie quelconque on pourroit dire qu'on les touche à la fois partout. Cette grande mobilité des nerfs fait qu'elles sont plus disposées à l'imitation. Les femmes comme on l'a déjà fait remarquer sont semblables à des cordes sonores parfaitement tendues et à l'unisson. Il suffit d'en mettre une en mouvement toutes les autres à l'instant le parlagent. C'est que les commissaires ont observé plusieurs fois des qu'une femme tombe en crise les autres ne tardent pas d'y tomber. Cette organisation fait comprendre pourquoi les femmes ont des crises plus frequentes, plus longues, plus violentes que les hommes, et c'est à leur sensibilité des nerfs qu' est du le plus grand nombre de leurs crises. Il en est quelques unes qui appartiennent à une cause cachée mais naturelle à une cause certaine des emotions dont toutes les femmes sont plus ou moins susceptibles et qui par une influence éloigné en accumulant ces emotions, en les portant au pus haut degreé peut contribuer à produire un etat convulsif qu'on confond avec des autres crises. Cette cause est l'empire que la nature a donné à un sexe sur l'autre pour l'attacher et l'emouvoir, la plupart des femmes qui vont au Magnétisme ne sont pas réellement malades beaucoup y viennent par oisiveté et par amusement d'autres qui ont quelques incommodités n'en conservant pas moins leur fraîcheur et leur force, leur sens sont tous entiers, leur jeunesse a toute sa sensibilité. Elles ont assez de charmes pour agir sur le medecin elles ont assez de santé pour que le medecin agisse sur elles, la proximité long temps continuée, l'attouchement indispensable la chaleur individuelle communiquée les regards confondus. sont des voies connues de la nature et les moyens qu'elle a préparés de tout temps pour operer

report was quite sufficient for the scientific world ; but such were not those on whom Mesmer depended both for profit and popularity. He complained greatly of the investigation which was going on, said that the secret was in his hands alone, and at last took certain pupils, from whom he received nearly £.14,000, and to whom he communicated his doctrines. They formed societies to propagate them, and thereby brought upon themselves the indignation of Mesmer, for making public what he called his secret, and which, in spite of the large sums he had received, he still professed to consider his own property. He, however, now quitted France, and retired to Frauenfeldt, by the lake of Constance, where he resided till 1814, when he removed to Mersburg (his native place), and died the next year, aged eighty one.

But while Animal Magnetism received so severe a blow at Paris by the decision of the commissioners, it made its appearance in another form, and with different effects, in the provinces. One of Mesmer's pupils (the Marquis de Puységur) retired to his estate at Busaney, near Soissons, and there, with his brother, practised gratuitously. The result of their proceedings was a new feature in the effects of magnetism, to which they gave the name of magnetic

immanquablement les communications des sensations et des affections. L'homme qui magnetise a ordinairement les genoux de la femme renfermes dans les siens : les genoux et toutes les parties inferieures du corps sont par consequent en contact. La main est appliquée sur les hypochondres et quelques fois plus bas, sur les ovaires, le tact est donc exercé à la fois sur une infinité desporties. L'imagination qui agit en meme temps repand un certain desordre dans toute la machine elle suspend le jugement, elle écarte l'attention. Quand cette espace de crise se prepare le visage s'inflamme par degres, l'œil devient. On voit la femme baisser la tete, porter la main au front et aux yeux pour les couvrir cependant la crise continue et l'œil se trouble les paupières devienennnt humides, la respiration est courte et entrocoupée la poitrine s'élève et s'abaisse rapidement, les convulsions s'établissent ainsi que les mouvements precipités et brusques ou des membres ou du corps entier la preuve que cet état de convulsion n'a rien de penible, c'est que dès qu'il a cessé il n'en reste aucune trace facheuse. Le souvenir n'en est pas desagreceable, les femmes s'en trouvent mieux et n'ont point de repugnance à le sentir de nouveau. Comme les emotions éprouvées sont les germes des affections et des penchans, on sent pourquoi celui qui magnetise inspire tant d'attachement. En se proposant de guerir des maladies qui demandent un long traitement on excite des emotions agreables et chères des emotions que l'on regrette et que l'on cherche a retrouver."—Rapp. Sec. redigé par Bailly. This report met with the attention which it merited, and regulations tending to obviate the dangers which the unrestrained practise of animal magnetism seemed calculated to produce, were adopted in all countries where the mode of treatment itself met with the sanction of government.

sleep. After speaking of some cures which he had performed in the way prescribed by Mesmer, and with the usual attendant circumstances, he says, "These slight successes induced me to attempt being useful to a peasant, a man of twenty-three years of age, who had been four days confined to his bed with a catarrh. I went, then, to see him; it was last Tuesday, at eight in the evening. The fever had just become milder. After raising him, I magnetised him. What was my surprise on seeing this man, at the end of two or three minutes, fall asleep in my arms, without convulsions or pains! I continued the crisis, which occasioned giddiness. He talked, spoke aloud of his affairs. All this was in sleep. When I thought his ideas were affecting him disagreeably, I checked them; I endeavoured to inspire him with more agreeable ones."—"I brought him (still in sleep) to the magnetized tree; his head then sunk down, and he fell into a state of perfect somnambulism. At the end of an hour I took him home to his house again, where I restored him to his senses. Several men and women came to tell him what he had been doing. He maintained that it was not true; that, weak as he was, and scarcely able to walk, it would have been impossible for him to go down stairs and walk to the tree." This new symptom, which soon became universal, was declared to be the proper effect of magnetism; and that spasms and convulsions were only produced in consequence of unskilfulness in the mode of applying it. M. de Puysegur seems to have been chiefly guided by the directions of the peasant whom he had cured; for though not remarkable for intellect when awake, he was, when thrown into a crisis of magnetic sleep, perfectly marvellous. "According to him, it is not necessary for me to touch every one—a look, a gesture, a wish is sufficient. And it is one of the most limited peasants of the country that teaches me this. When he is in a crisis I know nothing more profound, more prudent, more clear-sighted than he."

These wonders were not of a nature to stop here; this shutting out of external impressions only gave a more vivid perception of those from within, and accordingly patients, when in this state, not only walked, talked, preached, advised, and prophesied, but were even able to transfer the action and power of the senses to parts not ordinarily capable of exercising them. The stomach, and even the fingers, were endowed with sight, smell, and hearing; the mind was enriched with the knowledge of ancient and foreign languages; and so great was the accession of knowledge which, with the crisis, would "come like phantoms, so depart," that any magnetic patient might, during his paroxysms, perform the duties of a

“professor of things in general,” and discourse learnedly “de omnibus rebus et quibus dans aliis.” An event, however, was now approaching, so awful in its nature and so extensive in its consequences, as to deprive of interest all contemporary questions, and, indeed, during its terrific progress, to have put almost a complete stop to the development of anything but the more stormy passions of human nature. Animal Magnetism lost its importance, and seemed totally forgotten, when the French Revolution broke out; and it was not till after the restoration of tranquility that mankind were at leisure to re-direct their minds towards its pretensions. Then it was that, as if by way of compensation for the time that it had lost, it flourished in the country of the inventor so much that public lectures were delivered on it at the universities, and journals devoted to its details conducted by men of distinguished attainment. There were now three sects of animal magnetists—some who adopted the theories of Mesmer, and were called Mesmerists; others who, practising without theory, merely recorded their results: those at the head of whose school had been the two M.M. de Puysegur: and, lastly, another class, who still more simplified the process, having neither magnetized trees, baquet, nor rods, but who merely offered up prayers by the bedsides of their patients. These were called spiritualists, or, from the name of their founder, Barbarinists. But, whatever difference there might be in the mode by which the fluid was supposed to be conveyed, or the theory which was adopted in reference to it, all agreed in the wonderful nature and curative effects of “magnetic sleep.” “In Mesmerism,” says Oker, “animal instinct arises to the highest degree admissible in this world. The *clair-voyant* is thus a pure animal, without any admixture of matter; his operations are those of a spirit; he is similar to God; his eye penetrates all the secrets of nature. When his attention is fixed on any of the objects of this world—on his disease, his death, his well-beloved, his friends, his relations, his enemies—in spirit he sees them acting; he penetrates into their causes, and the consequences of their action; he becomes a physician, a prophet, a divine. Such a state of spirituality and pure animality is that of the saints.”

Now all this is but the revival of a very old psychological theory. It must be acknowledged, however, that it was much better and more philosophically maintained of old than by the magnetists. The great authority upon the subject in France at present, is the *History of Animal Magnetism*, by M. Deleuze (for it is not yet extinct); and with his account of the effects produced by magnetic

action we shall conclude. "When magnetism produces somnambulism, the being who is in this condition acquires a prodigious extension in the faculties of sensation; several of his external organs—generally those of sight and hearing—are inactive, and all the sensations which depend upon them take place internally. Of this state, there is an infinite number of shades and varieties; but, in order to form a right judgment of it, we must examine it in its greatest difference from the state of waking, passing over in silence all that has not been confirmed by experience. The somnambulist has his eyes shut; he does not see with his eyes, he does not hear with his ears, but he sees and hears better than one who is awake. He sees and hears only those with whom he is in magnetic communication. He sees nothing but that at which he intends to look; and he generally looks only at those objects to which his attention is directed by those in magnetic communication with him. He is under the will of his magnetiser in regard to everything that cannot hurt him, and that he does not feel contrary to his ideas of justice and truth. He feels the will of his magnetiser; he perceives the magnetic fluid; he sees, or rather he feels, the interior of his body and that of others (provided that he touch them); but he commonly observes only those parts of it which are not in their natural state, and disturb the harmony of the whole. He recovers the recollection of things which, when awake, he had forgotten. He has prophetic visions and sensations which may be erroneous in some circumstances, and which are limited in their extent. He expresses himself with astonishing facility. He is not free from vanity. He becomes more perfect of his own accord for a certain time, if guided wisely; he wanders when he is ill-directed. When he returns to the natural state, he entirely loses the recollection of all the sensations and all the ideas which he had had in the state of somnambulism; so that these two conditions are as foreign to one another as if the somnambulist and the waking man were two different beings."* After this, however, we are told that the last is the only invariable symptom, and that the rest are rarely united in one person. Deleuze is a respectable writer, and evidently wishes to account for these wonders without bidding farewell to philosophy; and he, therefore, has a theory that seeing, hearing, &c., in magnetic patients, are carried on by means of an internal circulation of the fluid, which transmits the impressions immediately, and without the intervention of the nerves, to the brain. This has given

* Deleuze, "Hist. Crit. du Mag. An.," vol. i., p. 185.

rise to a new species of quackery—that of magnetizing, not the patient, but the physician, who forthwith sees all that is wrong in the patient's frame—a kind of quackery that has one advantage above all others, that it does not require even a pretension of learning or skill in the practitioner; he or she becomes imbued with all knowledge when brought to a state of somnambulism, however ignorant before.

In the year 1827,† two women, named Burckhart and Couteriere, (the latter a lace-maker) were tried at Paris for prescribing for and advising a young man named Gustave Pigault, and so terrifying him by representations of the diseased state of his viscera that he committed suicide. It appeared in evidence that the diseased was a very weak-minded young man, and given to lowness of spirits on account of supposed ill health; for which, in spite of the repeated representations of his mother, he had been in the habit, for three years, of applying to the prisoners. The medicines which they gave him (for it did not appear that he was himself magnetized) were of a very powerful description. One day he said to his mother, that woman (Couturiere) has deceived me; she has given me a medicine fit for a horse—composed of aloes, saffron, mercury, and jalap. I have a fire in my bowels. At length a definite offer was made that, on condition of paying 600*f.*, he should be cured in two months. Couturiere came to the house, was magnetized, and fell asleep. “Heavens! what do I see?” was her exclamation; “your body is filled with spots of blood. I am not satisfied with you; you will never get better.” The result of her exclamation has been seen. The person who magnetised her was a music master named Geslin, and he, when asked if he ever had recourse to magnetic sleep himself, replied “I am very wakeful, nobody was ever able to send me to sleep.”

We have now (saving the *unfacciamento* of Animal Magnetism, which has been “got up,” within the last two years, by Dr. Elliotson and others, and which, as developing no new principles, we have purposely omitted) briefly reviewed the history of Animal Magnetism; and when we consider that the imagination has been the most powerful agent that superstition has ever employed—both on account of the wonders which have been by it performed, and because, inasmuch as there is no necessity for imposture in the believers, the venerable and the virtuous may be, and have been, thereby sometimes enlisted on the same side as the mean and dis-

† *Thames*, April, 1828, p. 60.

honest—an account of the only instance in which its powers have been subjected to the searching ordeal of scientific investigation cannot be unimportant. Enough was elicited by the commissions at Paris to settle many disputed questions, to assign to the right cause many wonderful cures of past times, and to reconcile many historical passages with the principles of truth.

(To be continued).

THE MUSICIAN ABOUT TOWN.

THE principal feature of attraction at the Norwich Festival this year (which occurred while our last number was going to press), was the performance of Spohr's second oratorio, "Des Heilands letzte stunden" (the last words of the Saviour), and the presence of the composer himself, who conducted his own work, and performed at the evening concerts. After having for years enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most (if not *the* most) intellectual violinist, and composer for the instrument, of his day, Spohr now enjoys the distinguished honour of being esteemed a first-rate dramatic composer, and an oratorio writer in the same rank with Beethoven. He has displayed his genius in a large number of concertos and other compositions for the violin; and his knowledge of the powers and combined effects of an orchestra is not exceeded by any living musician. His opera of "Azor and Zemira" is the only one of his dramatic works that has been brought forward on the English stage; and although this was effected with no ordinary zeal and care, attended by gorgeous scenery, it did not receive that patronage from the public due to its merits; while the theatre itself was not benefited by the experiment. A total revolution must take place in the whole European taste for vocal music, which, even to the recesses of Germany, is fast welcoming the modern Italian school, before the opera music of Spohr becomes what may be called the stock property of the theatres. Even in his own country, his vocal airs are thought to be too chromatic and instrumental in character; and it must be acknowledged that multitudes of passages might be quoted from his works which are essentially instrumental in feature and construction. Great he is, nevertheless, in dramatic

conception ; and yet he is, in his "heart of heart," an instrumentalist. His great symphony is, perhaps, the foremost mark and promontory of his genius. His overtures to his first oratorio ("Die Letzen Dinge)," the "Faust," the "Berggeist," and the "Jessonda," are all fine in conception and great in achievement. In this walk of his art he appears to be wholly unrestrained ; but in his oratorios, although there are isolated movements which in themselves are sufficient to disarm criticism, yet we cannot but feel that, in their general style and treatment, Spohr does not maintain the rank among oratorio writers that he does with the dramatic and instrumental composers. We prefer the principal airs, and even the best choruses, to be found in his several operas, to those of the same standing in his sacred works. In the former, both classes of movements are more free, natural, and energetic. The prevailing characteristic of this composer's mind appears to us to be serenity of expression, plaintive sorrow, and sweetness, amounting to languor : even his most spirited movements are not untainted with this depression, when compared with the same class of writing by the other great musicians. Energy, and even vehemence, he has, doubtless, manifested upon occasions, as may be instanced in the chorus and succeeding symphony in his first oratorio, describing the last convulsion and ruin of all things ; and in the storm scene in his second, of both which it should seem that Beethoven was his model. But in his gayest productions we never entertain the feeling that Spohr is of a joyous, still less an exuberant nature ; and even the very character and combinations in his accompaniments do not tend to vivify, but to sadden his melodies. They are severely scientific, and rich even to surfeiting ; but they appear to be the effusions of a deeply contemplative, and not of a buoyant spirit. We cannot immediately recal a single movement in all his works that would convey the idea of Spohr's ever having been betrayed into a rousing laugh.

Spohr is not only one of the most distinguished mannerists of his age, but, what must have struck all who are in any degree familiar with his compositions, particularly his later ones, and what must immediately present itself upon hearing his last oratorio which was performed at Norwich, is, that it contains much which he has before written, and little that is either original or eminent, as referable to his own genius. No fresh sensation or vivid emotion is excited in the mind of the auditor : it is a twice-told tale. This does not indicate the loftiest order of genius ; but Spohr has long been amenable to the charge of repeating himself : and although we honestly ac-

knowledge that the peculiar distinctness of his style and the turn of his phrases, with the marked character of his harmonies, all tend to keep him distinct from other composers, still it must eventually, and at no distant period, deteriorate his reputation, this frequent recurrence to his previous successes, repeating not merely the execution and details of movements, but even, in some instances, phrases of melody. All these objections, with others to be presently super-added, were the causes that the oratorio encountered no very enthusiastic reception when it was first performed in this country, at the Hanover-square Rooms, in 1837; and this was the prevailing opinion among those of the profession who were present upon that occasion. For the production of so eminent a man, it was considered with indifference; and this circumstance may account for the English version of the work being changed. It was then entitled "The Crucifixion;" whereas, when it was reproduced at the Norwich Festival, it was called "Calvary."

It is not correct, as was stated in one of the articles in the morning papers, preparatory to the performance at Norwich, that from the time of his first oratorio being performed in this country, the reputation of the author has been "*steadily increasing*." For a few years after that event, and at the time of the production of the "Azor and Zemira," some interest was excited in favour of the Spohr school of music, and a few imitators were found among our native composers: but at no time could the progenitor of it have been denominated a popular composer, nor do we believe (for the reasons heretofore alleged) that he ever will be so. He will continue to be the idol of the instrumentalist and the amateur quartett player; but so long as the taste exists in favour of the simple and severe style in oratorio writing, the oratorios of Spohr will be resorted to at intervals only for public performance.

Another obstacle to the general popularity of the work is, that it is dramatic, and more than dramatic—it is *theatrical*; and, like many theatrical adaptations of a point in history, the author of the words has taken the most insolent liberties with the sacred text. We affect no Puritanism in these matters (although, from a principle of taste, we abhor the impertinence of paraphrases of Holy Writ), but the greatest latitudinarian must feel offended at an imaginary person named Philo being introduced to preside at the trial of the Saviour, instead of Pilate, who is not even named; and there can be but one opinion respecting the propriety of a long maudlin scena being put into the mouth of the mother while her son is hanging upon the

cross. By selecting this subject for musical treatment, Spohr has brought himself into direct competition with the most complete of Handel's oratorios ; and if Handel ever exceeded himself in power and pathos, it was in the "Messiah" (the choruses of "Israel in Egypt" alone excepted, which constitute the sublime of his power). He has also brought himself into a comparison with Haydn, in whose "Passione," or "Seven last words of the Saviour on the cross," the suffering and resignation at that dreadful period are developed with an intensity and grandeur achieved in no other of the compositions of that great master. Moreover, he enters the lists with Beethoven, who, in a similar dramatic treatment of the subject, brings before us the scene in the garden of Gethsemane by night, and this so vividly as to pre-occupy us, and induce us to look "with lack-lustre eye" upon any subsequent representation of the event. Lastly, by the way in which the story has been arranged, Spohr has been brought into competition with himself, the sublimer parts of the "Crucifixion" being, as we have said before, more or less refusions of those which distinguish his first work ; hence the extraordinary self-contemplation of this poet of sound ; hence, also, the self-repetitions ; and hence the (as it were) dyeing-in-grain of that mannerism which at once proclaims the composer, after the hearing of a single phrase. With these drawbacks, it will be immediately comprehended why his second production did not take the same rank in public esteem and favour with his first. Had it not been brought forward, with its new title, this year, the performance in 1837 would have been deemed sufficient ; for it had passed from the minds and interest of those who then heard it. The finest portions are, the overture, the storm scene, and the concerted music for the women.

The oratorio, and, indeed, the whole festival performance, was got up with a feverish zeal and assiduity. For weeks before the event, the whole stream of paragraphing, and announcing, and puffing, was laid on from the main, and the steam-press pumps were kept constantly going ; not judiciously, however, for they were over-worked ; and thus the main-spring and intention of the whole machinery became apparent to the most obtuse intellectual vision.

The Sacred Harmonic Society have given two or three public performances since our last publication ; but they have consisted neither of novelties nor revivals of standard oratorios. Handel's "Solomon" and the "Judas Maccabeus" have each been twice repeated to undiminished audiences, and in addition to the regularly engaged principal singers—Miss Birch, Mrs. T. Severn (late Miss Caw-

thorn), Messrs. Hobbs, Turner, Young, Phillips, and A. Novello—the committee judiciously secured the assistance of Miss Masson in the “Solomon,” whose finely cultivated style of singing is a sure source of gratification to every educated musician. At the opening of the year, we have been informed that some novelties now in practice will be produced. The new psalm of Mendelssohn, “As pants the heart;” the fine ode of Romberg, “The Transient and the Eternal;” and one of Haydn’s masses. So excellent a spirit and energy sways this amateur society, and they have attained to such perfection in choral singing, that we have little doubt, if they apply their faculties to the task, they could accomplish Beethoven’s great mass in D; and let them once achieve this gigantic work and they may throw down the gauntlet to all Europe; for even throughout Germany there is not the same body of amateurs that can compete with them. A greater fallacy does not exist in this country than the belief in the high and classical state of musical cultivation in Germany. The professors, it is true, maintain their envied supremacy; but the music of the general population is all but confined to quadrilles and waltzes; and the majority would rather at any time hear the “Sommo ciel” of Pacini, than the “Non piu di fiori” of Mozart. If the science of music formed but a division of our national education, as it does in Germany, the English, with their intellectual motive power and restless activity, would outstrip them in the course of a very few years. The best of the German professors privately acknowledge the declension of classical taste among their countrymen; and it is constantly evident to every educated musician who travels through their principal towns, Berlin, perhaps, alone excepted, where the best music is still to be heard. When it is considered what has been done for sterling music in this country during the last twenty years, by individual exertion, unaided by the court, the legislature, or the educational body, and what is still doing; when we see the host of amateurs in Exeter Hall performing, and the 2,000 listening with gratified countenances to music of the highest class; when, in one factory in the north, you shall witness one or two hundred people turn out and, at a moment’s notice, sing you a chorus from the “Israel in Egypt,” and in an iron foundry (as we know) you shall hear the hard-fisted operatives play an overture of Weber’s, if not with professor-like finish, with laudable correctness; when it is considered, we repeat, what has been done, and is still doing in England, in behalf of the science, the French, with their ignorance of facts, and dull pertness, may go on asserting, till they

are modest, that we are not a musical nation. But where is the proof that *they* are such? Where are their choral societies? where are their amateur societies? where are their festival meetings? wherein consists their patronage of the art, but at their theatres, and in their *talk*? What native concerto player in London was ever known to earn his bread by playing quadrilles at a private ball? This is not unfrequently the case in Paris. More than half the success, and *all* the ignorance of the Parisians, consists in assumption and assertion; the other half of their success arises from their local position in Europe. To return to our friends of the "Sacred Harmonic Society:" we hear good report of their stability, and that with the new year they will introduce to the subscribers their new organ, a large one, built by Mr. Walker, and which is to be exhibited to the profession by a public performance at his factory on the 23rd instant (December).

Having, in the course of the present article, mentioned the name of Miss Masson, we are reminded to say a word in recommendation of a society, projected, and mainly brought into action through her energy and sensible management. It is a society for the relief of decayed FEMALE musicians, formed upon the principle of the Royal Society of Musicians. The number of the professional sisterhood already enrolled is considerable: Her Majesty the Queen, the Queen Dowager, their R. H.H. the Duchess of Kent and the Duchess of Cambridge, and many of the influential nobility, have granted their patronage and support to this meritorious institution; and the result will be, we have no doubt, that in a very short time a large fund will be accumulated ready to afford casual and permanent relief to a class who have hitherto had no city of refuge in adverse times, no public storehouse to apply to in the winter of life. Previously to the formation of the society, Miss Masson caused an application to be made to the brother institution, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the members were inclined to revise the laws of the society, for the purpose of admitting female members of the profession, upon paying the usual annual subscription; and their declining to entertain the proposal led the way to the instant formation of the new society. We are unacquainted with the reason which led to the rejection of so plausible a proposition that an unmarried female professor, or widow, with perhaps a family dependent upon her individual exertions, or deprived of them by sickness, and who would personally contribute her subscription to the society the same as a male member, should be refused the assistance to which such a one would be enti-

tled in case of necessity. It is true that the Royal Society, in a host of instances, gives relief to the needy widows and children of their own members; but why refuse a *double* subscription from families where both the heads of it are professors? and, still more, why refuse to admit female members who are single? Had the late Mrs. Cecilia Davis, who was the most celebrated singer of her day, who had been a favourite at several of the European courts, and had been instructress to more than one of the queens, been a member of the Royal Society, or had the Society of Female Musicians been in existence, she would not have been reduced to the deplorable necessity of relying upon the casual bounty of the humane, and finally to have died in penury. It is not unworthy of remark that, at their annual benefit concert, the Royal Society expect and receive the *gratuitous* assistance of all the *female* performers they may require; and yet, should the half of those ladies grant their services for twenty years, remain unmarried, and in advanced life be deprived of the means of self-support, they must retire to a union poor-house; for, by its laws, the Royal Society would not be authorized to indemnify them for the benefit that had accrued to their institution by their services for so many years. For these reasons, therefore, we earnestly hope for success, and will canvass support to the Society of Female Musicians. Of its *ultimate* prosperity we have no fear, having had occasion to witness the cheerful zeal and clear understanding of its acting—or rather *active*—lady president and director: that which it would give us pleasure to witness, in its present infantile state, is, the encouragement and support of the influential and the opulent.

There has been nothing in the way of musical novelty at the great theatres since the commencement of the season; if we except the appearance of a female singer at each house, and the revival of the Beggar's opera at Covent Garden, in the costume of the time in which it was written. The piece has been produced altogether with elegance and good taste. Miss Rainforth is the Polly, Mad. Vestris is the Lucy, and an excellent one she makes; and Mr. Harrison performs the part of Macheath. The chief interest in the piece is centered in the part of Lucy; for, independently of her clever acting, Mad. Vestris sings like a cultivated musician. Until the revival of this piece, and the production of Knowles's new play of "Love," the prospect for the female management was most inauspicious; now, the house has a fair portion of audience every night. So complete a lottery is a theatrical undertaking. At the same establishment a Miss

Austin made her first appearance in Mandane. She was announced to be a pupil of Mr. Welsh (not of any long standing, we should surmise), and, for the stage business, of Mr. Young. As the young lady quickly retreated from the line of profession she had most preposterously attempted, while in the very rawest state of musical accomplishment, no more need be said of her performance : nevertheless, the newspapers hailed her appearance with acclamations. The puffing stream was again laid on from the main, and the pumps were over-worked ; yet all would not do. These hydraulic exhibitions are forcing open people's eyes. In a restaurant's at Milan, a short time since, Rossini recognised a foreign professor from London, who boasted to him, before the whole company, that the object of his visit to the continent was to purchase an estate with the property he had realized in this country. " You have made your fortune, have you ? " said Rossini ; " and how is S—— getting on ? " " Very prosperously," was the reply. " Bravo ! England is the country for humbug ! "

At Drury Lane, a Miss Delcy, daughter of Mr. Rophino Lacy, has appeared, with some success. The young lady has, for some few years past, been known in the northern provinces, and was, we understand, a favourite at York and Hull : in her appearance, therefore, upon the London boards, she does not labour under the disadvantage of a noviciate. Her voice is strong, piercing, and extensive in the upper part of the scale : moreover, she comes to her London business with some knowledge of the profession, both as a singer and actress. She has more than one part to her back ; for (having studied under her father several years) she is prepared to take the principal characters in most of the operas, both native and foreign, that have been adapted to, and are popular on, the English stage. She will, therefore, be a useful, although, we apprehend, not a highly attractive singer. A well educated and richly qualified theatrical soprano and tenor would, at this time, quickly realize an ample fortune ; for our stage can boast of neither. The most agreeable series of entertainments, and consequently the most profitable to the authors of them, have been the quadrille and waltz concerts, which commenced at the English Opera House after the close of the last season, and have continued their performances every night to the present time. The band consists of sixty musicians, many of them principals at the Philharmonic concerts, all of them excellent players ; and for one shilling admittance the purchaser is entertained with two of the most favourite overtures, an instrumental concerto, and a selection of the

best German and other waltzes and quadrilles. From their constant practice together, the performers have attained to so well combined a union, and so neat a discrimination of the lights and shades in execution and effect, that it is due to them to say that their concerts have been an intellectual treat to the cultivated musician; while the large, and respectable, and attentive audiences, that each night throng the house, confirm the popularity of these rational and delightful entertainments. Upon one occasion, we heard a violin concerto performed in a masterly manner by young Willy (who, by the way, is an enterprising and successful artist), and Weber's overture to "Der Freischütz," which was, as it deserved to be, unanimously enjoyed. Strauss's and Lanner's waltzes are far more meritorious, as compositions, than Musard's, which are commonplace and tricky, with solo movements for the keyed bugle or cornet à piston, and the new French flageolet—a squeaking, disagreeable pipe. Musard has come over to London, and, as we hear, was within an ace of concluding terms with the proprietors of Exeter Hall for the purpose of performing his celebrated promenade concerts; but the righteousness of the worshipful body happily overcame their cupidity; the horror of carnal tunes, and incitements to the unlawful pleasure of dancing, being thought a desecration of the building devoted to no less serious purposes than the performance of sacred oratorios and anti-popery meetings. In order to cancel the bargain, therefore, they insisted upon such stipulations that Mons. Musard would have been insane to accept. His band, we hear, consists of a hundred performers.

A NIGHT IN THE BLACK FOREST.

It was late in the evening when I arrived at a small inn situated in one of the most romantic vallies of the Black Forest. I was much fatigued with the day's journey; and as the next post was several leagues distant I determined to rest a few hours ere proceeding on my way. The room into which I was shewn for the night was a large, ill-furnished apartment, and recalled forcibly to mind the descriptions I had read of haunted chambers in deserted castles, where the goblin throng might hold their midnight revels, or where some lone spirit might be doomed for years to wander, in ex-

piation of a fearful crime. It is a strange thing that though ghosts always prefer the dampest and most unwholesome situations for their lodging, yet we never hear of them taking cold. A ghost with a pocket handkerchief or a stick of Spanish liquorice would indeed be a "*rara avis*." The furniture of my present apartment consisted of a few old high-backed chairs, placed at regular distances against the wall ; a curious old table, supported by four massive legs, on which were carved figures of griffins and sphynxes, and misshapen monsters. A bed occupied one side of the room, while the other was taken up by an immense overgrown wardrobe or clothespress, which seemed capable of holding not only the outfit of a large family, but occasionally the family itself. The walls were composed of oaken pannels, covered with various mystic characters, and strange unintelligible devices. Each pannel seemed ready to slide or turn or mysteriously disappear from its place, and disclose the entrance to some dark staircase, or display the skeleton of some ill-fated victim. The floor creaked ominously beneath each step, as though it were made up of trap-doors and moveable planks. The ceiling had evidently been painted with much care ; and though now greatly defaced, still the sun and moon, surrounded by the signs of the zodiac, might be distinctly traced, together with sundry other horrific symbols. Even the covering of the bed was cabalistic. It was composed of an intricate piece of embroidery, representing a skull and cross bones resting on a coffin, round which was a large proportionable garnishing of hour glasses and scythes, intermixed with coiled snakes and radiant stars. One side of the room was adorned with a huge picture, the subject of which represented a beautiful female in an attitude of supplication, apparently entreating a very fierce-looking gentleman to spare the life of her child. The mother's look of unutterable anguish, and the unconscious placidity of the infant, contrasted with the ferocious and pitiless expression of the relentless murderer's features, as he seemed about to plunge a dagger into the helpless victim's heart, were well portrayed, and the painting was evidently the production of no mean artist.

The inn where I now was had originally formed part of a baronial castle, which had long since become a dismantled ruin. One tower, however, which had suffered least by the ravages of time, had been put so far in habitable repair as to afford a tolerable shelter to the weary traveller. The painted ceiling and hieroglyphic'd walls of my present chamber seemed to indicate the peculiar pursuits of one, at least, of its former possessors. It had probably

formed the study of some astrologer or professor of the black art; an art which, even at the present time, in many parts of Germany, still has its votaries. After refreshing myself with such things as the house afforded, I sent my servant to retire for the night, desiring him to call me early in the morning, it being necessary that we should leave by daybreak. As the sound of his receding footsteps died away, I could not but feel an almost fearful loneliness. The time, which was midnight; the perfect stillness that prevailed; the mysterious subjects that surrounded me, together with the strangeness of the situation, all tended to awake associations of a vague and speculative nature. I threw open the window, and looked out upon the prospect. It was a clear autumnal night: the stars shone more bright than usual; while the moon guided her silver car through the glittering host, shedding a calm soft light upon the scene. The landscape was wild and romantic beyond description. The building stood upon a projecting rock overhanging a deep ravine, down which a mountain torrent rushed impetuously, but at such a distance beneath, that the sound of its foaming waters scarcely reached the ear. On the opposite side of the glen, the ground rose gradually height above height to a distant lofty ridge; the whole surface clothed with a broad black forest of towering pines; while here and there a rugged peak, or the crumbling tower of some decayed fortress, stood out in bold relief from among the sombre foliage. I turned from the contemplation of this scene with feelings strongly partaking of its dark solitary features, and took another survey of my strange lodging. I opened the old clothes press; it contained nothing but a broken rifle, two or three tusks, apparently of the wild boar, several implements of the chase, and a huge bright clasp knife, similar to those used for cutting the throats of the deer and wolf, when the ball had failed to complete the work of death. I next turned to decipher the writing on the wall, but the "mene, mene," was totally unintelligible. I could not expect to find another Daniel in the wolf's glen, so I contented myself with supposing that it meant nothing. But the picture more and more rivetted my attention; I could not take my eyes from it; there was something so cold, so heartless, so demoniac in the expression of the assassin's countenance, contrasted with the gentle, the tender, the imploring look of the beautiful creature as she knelt before him, clasping her child with one hand, while with the other she seemed to deprecate the fate that awaited it. There was a fascinating spell about this group which I could not resist. In vain I turned from it. The figures still haunted me. Could

this fair creature have been spirited away by some mountain demon, and compelled to yield to his embrace in order to save the life of her infant? or had she been a victim of the mysterious black tribunal; the dread secret council, before whose subtle machinations thousands had trembled? I imagined to myself all the horrors of those inquisitorial assemblies, held deep within some subterraneous chamber, from whence all cries for mercy or justice would be alike in vain and unheeded. From these vague speculations I next turned to the thought of danger more definite, and more immediately connected with my present situation.

At the time of which I speak, that part of Suabia was infested with a band of robbers, whose depredations had spread terror throughout the surrounding district; and when I reflected on the loneliness of the spot, and called to mind the many stories I had read of unwary travellers being entrapped into the hands of these banditti, I own that dread of spiritual visitors gave way before fears of more substantial enemies. I was totally unarmed. Here was a situation! What was to be done? I thought of the knife which I had seen in the press, and instantly possessed myself of the weapon. It was a broad bright blade: as I placed it under my pillow, I felt my courage and confidence return. At length the fatigues of the day completely overpowered me, and I sank gradually into a profound sleep, the images and realities of the present strongly blending with the visionary and fleeting nonentities of a dreamy ideality. How long this state of unconsciousness lasted I know not, but I was aroused by a dull grating sound, which was apparently close to me. I started and looked round, the candle was still burning on the table, and distinctly shewed me every object in the chamber. There was the dusky ceiling, the curious pannels, the large legs of the old table, all clearly defined. And as the light fell upon the picture it seemed suddenly animated. While I was gazing, all at once it began to slide from its place, and disclosed an aperture in the wall, from which a dark-looking object slowly emerged. The figure, which was clothed in slight drapery, advanced a few steps. I saw it was a woman; and I was about to speak, when she imposed silence by laying a finger on her lips, while with the other hand she beckoned me to rise. I felt an irresistible impulse to obey; and, snatching the knife from the place where it was deposited, I was instantly at her side. "Your life is in danger," she hurriedly whispered, "but fear not, I will save you; follow me." By the aid of the dull light, I perceived, through the opening in the wall, a narrow, dark staircase, down

which my mysterious guide proceeded, bearing in her hand a small lamp. I attended silently on her steps ; after descending for some time, we found ourselves in a low arched gallery, cut in the solid rock. This passage led us to another stair and another gallery. On, on we went, there seemed to be no end to the turnings of this subterraneous labyrinth. Now we crossed a spacious hall, the roof of which was painted similar to that of the chamber I had left. The lamp of my conductor shed a sickly light around. The walls appeared covered with grotesque figures ; while the floor was of curious mosaic workmanship. Now again we threaded the intricate mazes. Sometimes the sound of distant revelry broke upon the ear ; and sometimes the smothered cry of some one in distress came wailing through the stillness ; and then again all was still. I felt a horrible chillness come over me : I had no power to retrace my steps, which seemed urged on by some invisible spell.

At length we emerged from the gloom, and found ourselves standing on a ledge of rocks, which projected from the face of the precipice far beneath the foundations of the castle. A narrow path led along the extreme edge of the cliff ; it had no guard ; the ground was slippery ; one false step, and destruction was inevitable ; but my guide went forward with a firm foot, seemingly unconscious of the danger, and I followed. We soon came to a rude bridge, formed of a single tree, thrown across the ravine. She passed it ; I paused. The torrent raged far, far below. I turned to the sky ; a scowling tempest darkened the heavens. In another instant my foot was on the bridge ; I heard the timber crack ; I felt the support sinking from under me. With a desperate effort I sprang to the opposite side ; and the same moment the old trunk fell crashing into the chasm beneath. A thousand echoes reverberated to the shock ; amid the din I heard a wild discordant laugh, which sounded like the yell of a disappointed fiend. My blood ran cold : I turned to my conductor. The breeze had blown aside the drapery that concealed her face, and, to my horror, I saw distinct upon her forehead a broad deep streak of blood ; while her eyes, which protruded from their sockets, seemed to sparkle with a wild unearthly gleam. "Quick, quick to the forest !" she exclaimed, "or we are lost !" I had no power to resist ; and as she rushed along through many a tangled thicket and umbrageous grove, I followed as well as the broken nature of the ground would permit. At length we paused before the gateway of a ruined castle. Two colossal figures of misshapen animals guarded the entrance : we passed them. We stood beneath the massive portal ; we crossed the

court yard : it was overgrown with long grass, and strewed with large fragments of stone, which had been detached from the overhanging battlements. We entered a low dark arch, and descended a long flight of broken steps leading to a narrow gallery, the floor of which very considerably inclined downwards, and seemed conducting us into the bowels of the earth.

After following this for some time, our farther progress appeared to be finally arrested by a solid mass of stone, which totally obstructed the passage, and which would seem to defy any human power to remove it ; but, to my surprise, it yielded to the first touch of the strange being who had guided me thither. The vast block of granite turned as if poised on the most delicate point, and we passed through the opening ; the door closed behind us, and I felt that all chance of retreat was impossible. And now we traversed several apartments ; some of them spacious and lofty, others low and contracted. From the walls of these chambers projected various hooks and strong bars of iron, to some of which chains were attached ; and through the darkness visible I could occasionally discern the dim outline of a human figure, stretched on the wretched couch afforded by the cold, damp floor. I was bewildered with conflicting feelings, and determined to proceed no farther without some explanation. But where was my conductor, my betrayer, as I now began to think her ? She was gone ! I stood alone : the darkness was terrible ; the silence of this sepulchral vault was fearful. I listened with the most painful intensity. Now I could distinguish a low muttering sound, as of voices at a great distance ; and now it was the stillness of the tomb. I groped my way in the direction from whence the sounds had proceeded, and soon discovered a faint streak of light, towards which I bent my steps ; but here another barrier of stone, similar to the one we had passed, obstructed my farther progress. The light seemed to come from beyond the massive portal, through a narrow chink in its upper edge. I determined at all hazards to proceed. The door obeyed my touch. The next instant I stood within a vast vaulted chamber, dimly illumined by several lamps suspended from the roof. At the upper end was a broad platform or dais, on which was placed a table of stone ; round this several men were seated : they were enveloped in long black cloaks, and all wore masks. An axe and a coil of rope lay in the centre of the table. At one end there was an elevated throne, which was occupied by a gigantic figure, holding in his hand a naked sword. Opposite to this fearful being, and at a short distance from the table, the delicate figure of a female knelt in a supplicating attitude, clasping

fondly to her breast a beautiful child. By her side stood a familiar of this infernal tribunal, a wretch whose fiendish countenance and upraised dagger showed him at once ready and willing to obey their bloody mandates. My entrance had not been observed, and I gazed upon the group for some time with mingled feelings of astonishment and dread. No one spoke, and I began to think it was some strange delusion, when the silence was broken by a voice so sweet, so gentle, so imploring, that, as the tones fell upon my ear, they seemed at once to reach the fountain of the heart's tears: they came from that kneeling suppliant, and were full of intense agony. "Oh! if there is one kindly thought, one gleam of pity, one spark of human sympathy in your hearts, look upon a forsaken, an oppressed, broken-hearted creature, and protect this innocent, this unoffending child! Surely there is some kindred chord in your hearts which its utter helplessness must awaken. Surely there is some memory of a mother's love, of a mother's anguish, some link which associates you with the past, some tie which unites you with the future. I implore you by all you hold most dear on earth, and by all your hopes of a blessed hereafter, to spare the helpless innocent!" She paused, and the president replied, in a harsh, grating voice, which seemed ten-fold more discordant in contrast with the sweet and plaintive accents of the suppliant—"It is in vain to plead for mercy here, lady. Your husband has dared to lift his voice against this council: our vengeance is upon him. You know his hiding place: conduct us thither, and you are free; refuse, and your child dies before you, its blood be on your head!" For a moment there was a breathless silence. "Strike!" continued the inexorable judge. The dagger was raised; when an appalling shriek burst from the victim, and, starting to her feet, she exclaimed, with the wildest energy, "Never, never will I betray him! and yet, friends, I will disappoint your hellish malice." In an instant she seemed endowed with supernatural strength, and rushed with the rapidity of lightning towards the place where I stood. For the first time I now perceived at my feet a loathsome pit; and I at once saw that it was her intention to cast herself down this yawning grave. But she fell ere she reached its brink: her eye rested upon mine. Never shall I forget the agony of its expression. "Save me!" she cried; but I had no power. A horrible sensation came over me: a sickening palsy oppressed me. I seemed deprived of speech and motion; the lights faded; the air became murky; the floor shook beneath me; a thousand phantoms passed around. I closed my eyes; there was a sound as of a heavy falling. I looked again: a

tall gaunt figure stood before me, bearing in one hand a taper, in the other an earthen pitcher. I gazed bewildered ; he spoke—"It is time to get up ; I suppose you will shave this morning?" IT WAS MY OWN VALET !

MISCELLANEA METEOROLOGICA.

GREAT MALVERN.

THIS place is situated at an elevation of about five hundred feet above the level of the sea, and four hundred and fifty above the vale of the Severn, which lies below. The town has a full eastern aspect, and the pointed summits of the hill rise nearly a thousand feet immediately behind the houses. It has been the occupation of my leisure to observe twice daily the barometer, thermometer, &c., with a view to determine the mean temperature, pressure, and dew point, at this interesting locality, where an extended plain and distant horizon present peculiar facilities. In doing this, a series of miscellaneous meteorological facts and observations have been accumulated, which, besides being interesting to the general reader, may possibly suggest considerations to those persons similarly engaged with myself. In the following remarks, it has been my endeavour to keep closely to the language in which they were noted down at the instant, a more vivid sketch of the impressions made at the time being thus given than would have been the case, perhaps, in a more elaborate paper.—W. A.

ON FOGS AND FROST, &c.

The visible forms assumed by the vapour of the air are very various, being sometimes piled in fleecy masses of cloud in the higher regions, at others resting upon the earth in the form of mist or fog.

It frequently happens, when there is a thick fog in the vale, sufficient entirely to obscure the sun, that the atmosphere only a little height above is quite clear. When this happens, the temperature above the fog is warm, and the air clear and dry. The temperature in the fog is cold, OFTEN VERY COLD, and the air damp and chilling. The following facts and remarks establish these points :—

Nov. 20, 1829.—This evening I had occasion to leave home. The stars were shining brightly, and the hill above was dark and clear ; a sea of dense

white fog rested just below. On descending the hill out of the village I soon entered the fog, which was so thick that I could hardly discern objects at a short distance. On my return some hours after, the fog was still as dense as ever; a few stars only could be faintly seen in the zenith. As I ascended the hill the fog gradually appeared to thin off; and at last I suddenly emerged from it into a clear, brilliant, star-lit sky, the dense vapour still brooding over the lower parts of the country. The following morning I found all the fields and trees below thickly covered with a beautiful hoar-frost, whilst the trees, the fields, and every thing around this place, together with the whole of the hill above, were quite free from any of it.

OCTOBER 8, 1833.—Very thick fog all the morning here; *beautifully clear, with sunshine, on the hill.* Wind light westerly.

31st., 9 a.m.—Therm. 58 deg.—Weather calm and fine; very foggy down below. I was in Worcester at 3 p.m.; the streets were there quite wet and very dirty. The fog had been very thick there all the morning; we have had none here, and our roads are quite dry. Here all are remarking upon the closeness of the weather and the unusual warmth; we have been without fires the last three or four days, and are so now.

FEBRUARY 7, 1834, 9 a.m.—Barom. 29.650; therm. 36 deg. A sharp frost, during the preceding night, in the country below, and on the other side of the hill, with ice in the low places; nothing of the kind here, except a slight tinge of hoar upon the summit of the hill. Therm. last night only 33 deg. Atmosphere at noon very clear and transparent, but the fog is thick below. At 2 p.m. (therm. 41; hyg. 34) very fine indeed; not a cloud. Notwithstanding the very wet state in which every thing appeared, and the dense fog below all the morning, and although the sun has been removing moisture from the ground at a rapid rate for some hours, still the *dew point* indicated by the hygrometer is only half a degree higher than the temperature of the air during the night, which caused the foggy precipitation; while the temperature of the atmosphere has advanced 7 deg.

FEBRUARY 9, 1834.—*Yesterday* the wind was southerly, with heavy rain and snow. Barom. rising; thermom., at 1 p.m., 41 deg. *This morning*, at 8 a.m., very dense fog in the vale below; less so here; on the hill above, splendid clear sky, warm sun, and no fog. At 9 the fog became denser here, and so continued more or less throughout the day. At noon the trees and hedges were dry; about 4 p.m. they became dripping with wet; and at 9 p.m. (thermom. 32 deg.) the drops are, in many places, frozen; posts, rails, &c., are covered with a thin sheet of ice. Fog thick; a few stars are twinkling in the zenith. How is it that the trees and hedges are not covered with hoar frost from a freezing temperature and thick fog? I am just come in from a walk half a mile out of the village; there is not the slightest appearance of freezing any where upon the road. It is surely unusual for drops of water hanging upon trees and hedges to be frozen hard, without the slightest indication of freezing upon the exposed road. How is it, if the twigs are cold enough to freeze the drops, that the fog does not assume the form of hoar frost upon them?

DECEMBER 11th.—Very foggy down below; the fog just reaches up to the village. On the hill above the air is clear, with brilliant sun. The fog cleared away from us at 5 p.m., when the thermometer rose a little.

12th, 9 a.m.—Very foggy below; very fine, with sun, here. The ther-

monometer fell early this morning in the vale, in the fog, to 27 deg.; *but here (Malvern) it did not descend below 32 deg.*

DECEMBER 24, 1835, 9 a.m.—Therm. 22, Hygr. 21. The fog has been dense below, sometimes coming up to the village, and then receding. A little way above, the air has been altogether clear and warm. The trees just above us do not show a vestige of hoar frost; the same may be said of the trees here. Every thing below us is thickly overspread with silvery crystals of hoar frost. 3½ p.m.—The air here is just now perfectly clear and transparent, and it feels warm; the thick fog remains below, where the trees, the hedges, and the ground, are thickly covered, as with snow, whereas as everything close to us up here, especially the beautiful hill above, looks black and dark, strongly contrasting with the whiteness below. 5 p.m.—I have just been up the hill a little way, the moon and stars shining brilliantly. On reaching St Ann's Well, about 200 feet above, the air felt so mild that I went into the cottage and asked for a thermometer; after ten minutes exposure to the open air, it stood at 30 deg. On returning home, I came into the upper stratum of the fog, and found the thermometer out of my dining window 20 deg. This great difference induced me to take my own thermometer up the hill, and I went to a cottage distant not more than 200 yards. Here I found, as I did on first going up the hill, that a mild and light westerly air was blowing, not observable in the village; the thermometer rose to 30 deg. I took care so to carry the instrument that the mercury was not warmed by my hand; and that this did not occur was shewn when, on reaching my own house, I found it had again fallen to 24 deg. ! At 11 p.m., the air having been free from any fog for some hours, the thermometer stood at 25 deg.—i. e. 5 deg. higher than it did about 5 p.m., when the fog just reached us.

DECEMBER 25, 9 a.m.—Thermometer, 26 deg. hygr. 25 deg. Very hard frost. This morning, the ring of dew on the hygrometer certainly *not* frozen at 25 deg. Fogs still below; there is no hoar frost at all up here now, the little that was seen yesterday on some of the lower trees of the village has disappeared; it has evaporated without melting. When the fog thins away a little, the trees, hedges, ground, and every thing below us, can be seen most thickly covered with a magnificent frost-work.

26, 9 a.m.—Thermometer, 29; hygr. 24.—S. E. breeze. Fine, with clear sun. It is still very foggy down in the vale below. *A strong S. E. breeze is blowing here, but the fog below looks still and dense.* 11 a.m.—Very fine, sun, and light southerly breeze. The thermometer here at my house, in the shade, stands at 32 deg. I just now took the same instrument up to the Shrubbery, a house just above, where it rose to 35 in the shade! I then carried it in the same manner, and with the greatest precautions, down below, not more than 200 yards down the road, but into the upper stratum of the fog, when it fell to 18 deg. ! I have marked in my journal, "*really and undoubtedly a fact.*" I went down again. *The thermometer in the shade, out of my window, 31; at the Firmor Arms I found it 22 deg.; and at the turnpike gate 17 deg. ! the whole distance not more than 250 yards.* I then carried the thermometer in my hand for two hours in a walk down to Barnard's Green; every thing very white with hoar frost, and the fog thick, the air calm, and the thermometer at 17 deg. rising gradually in my hand, during the last half hour, as clouds began to form in the higher regions, to 20 deg. On as-

cending the hill to get home, which occupied me about ten minutes, I found the thermometer rapidly rising—first to 22, then to 28 deg., and on entering my house it reached again to 31 deg. and then 32 deg. Here, then, is a difference of 15 deg. of temperature in a distance of not more than 250 yards; shewing what great differences may exist within a few feet perpendicular measurement, the warmer stratum floating over and resting upon the lower cold one.

DECEMBER 25, 1835.—The same weather continues. Fog below, with most splendid hoar frost; none here. It really seems going into another climate to descend the hill (maximum of thermometer to-day, 32 deg.; now midnight, 30.5, *clear*, stars. It is worthy of remark that, although there has been now seven hours of clear sky since sunset, yet the temperature is only half a degree colder than it was at 5 p.m., and not two degrees lower than the maximum of the day.

DECEMBER 27, 9 a.m.—Therm. 35 deg.; hydr. 35 deg. On getting up this morning, I could see from my bed-room that the fog had nearly cleared away below, leaving only a slight mist. The whole of the beautiful hoar frost disappeared, as if by magic, during the night. The air is now generally clouded over, and the wind is getting up from the S.W. The great and extraordinary differences of the temperature between this place and the vale are now destroyed; the upper current has gradually mingled itself with the lower, and the temperatures are equalized—mean of thermometer to-day 37 deg.; at 11 p.m. 34 deg. The breaking up of this frost, which has been very severe in the lower country, is worthy of remark: it has taken place without any other visible change than the disappearance of the fog below, and the formation of some clouds over head. The maximum of the thermometer on the 28th rose to 48 deg.

The following is a tabular view of the temperature during this frost at Malvern and Severn Stoke. Severn Stoke is a small village on the banks of the Severn, about five miles from Malvern, and quite in the vale. The temperature there was taken by a friend, whose thermometer had been previously compared with mine.

1835.	MALVERN.	SEV. STOKES.	
Dec.	Minimum.	Minimum.	WEATHER.
20	28.5	27	Snow.
21	29	29	Easterly wind; fine.
22	28	23	Clear, stars, fine sunny day.
23	24	16	Hoar frost, a fog below.
24	20	15	Fine, stars, fog below, calm.
25	19.5	17	Very hard frost; a fog has been up in the village.
26	22	13	Very foggy down below; none up here.
27	30	11	Weather changing.
28	33	33	Westerly wind.

In the above table, it will be seen how much colder the weather was at Severn Stoke than at Malvern. In the night between the 26th and 27th the thermometer fell, in the former place, to 11 deg.; in the latter, no lower than 33 deg. The lowest temperature occurred about the hour before midnight. The following night both have the same temperature.

NOVEMBER 18, 1837.—This is one of those remarkable mornings which we frequently witness from this place. *Here is a fresh S.W. breeze, a warm temperature, and no hoar frost*; the sky is thickly overspread by nearly stationary clouds. I am just returned from the vale below. *There, is a dense fog, a cold calm atmosphere, and a snow-white hoar frost. Rain fell the following day again.*

NOVEMBER 25, 1837.—A beautiful morning, clear sky, and sun. The thermometer fell in the night to 35 deg. There is no indication of frost here. Down in the vale the fields are very white indeed, and all the pools are covered with a pretty thick coating of ice.

The upper surface of a fog is constantly oscillating, sometimes rising up, and then again subsiding.

Very often the thick fog from the vale just reaches the village. I have seen the church completely hid, the pinnacles on the tower only appearing above it. At other times the fog will ascend higher; the hill above will be in a brilliant sunshine, whilst all the houses, and everything here, are shrouded by the mist. Occasionally a fog will go on for two or three hours oscillating to and fro; sometimes, for a little while, obscuring all objects around, and then again receding, to leave them clear. I have thus often had an opportunity of seeing the various movements of the upper edge or stratum. On one occasion, the fog moved in totally opposite directions; the lower portion had a slow movement from the east; just above that was another bank of vapour carried briskly onward by a strong southerly breeze.

FEBRUARY 16, 1830, 10 p.m.—A very dense fog in the plain below, the top or surface reaches just up to the road running through the village. Atmosphere quite calm; stars bright. I had occasion to ascend the hill to a house a little way above; on looking down, I saw the lower parts of my house enveloped in fog, while the upper stories were quite free from it. The body of the church was hid by the fog; the steeple rose majestically out of it. There was a striking sensation of warmth in ascending the hill out of the fog, and of cold in descending into it: the ground frozen quite hard.

I have often seen the dense fog, which sometimes so absolutely shuts out the country below, lie quiet, in even ridges, before sun rise thus.—(See fig. A). But when the sun's rays begin to shine upon it, it rises, in various places, into conical-shaped masses (see fig. B), shewing the first commencement of the rise of the fog. When these conical heaps thin off or dissolve away in their upward progress, a *fine* and perhaps clear day ensues; or if they assume in the higher regions the form of detached rounded clouds, the weather will be fine; but when they form a continuous even sheet of cloud, rain generally succeeds.

Fogs are sometimes so dense that we can very readily see the particles composing them; at other times, when the fog seems equally thick, the separate particles are not so easily detected. Some fogs do not wet anything, whereas others render every thing with which they come in contact quite moist. Some fogs soon condense or settle upon the hat, the hair, or clothes; others will hardly do so.

When the temperature is very low, and the air filled with a dense fog, are the particles or vesicles frozen?

Can the vesicles of vapour constituting a fog preserve a temperature of their own, or a condition uninfluenced by the temperature of the air in which they are floating? I have seen a fog, the air being at a temperature many degrees below the freezing point, the little vesicles or particles of which in no wise differ from those of fogs at higher temperature. How is it, in such a temperature, that the particles are not frozen? or, if they are so, how do they attach themselves to twigs in the form of hoar frost? They seem to freeze only when they first adhere, and not to be frozen before; the jutting twig first, and then the fibre of *rime*, forming the point of attachment, freezing particle after particle.

DECEMBER 24, 1835, 9 a.m.—Thermometer, 22; hygrometer, 21. Fog below, sometimes reaching up to the village. The little vesicles or particles can be very plainly discerned by attending to them sailing along against a dark back-ground. They do not appear at all different from those seen when the temperature of the air is 40 deg. or more; perhaps they are smaller. This morning, when the bulb of the hygrometer was reduced to 21 deg. (*i. e.* 11 deg. below the freezing point) the ring of dew was deposited (I think) in a fluid state, though it froze almost immediately afterwards.

DECEMBER 25, 1836, 9 a.m.—Therm. 24 deg.; hydr. 19 deg. Although the dew point is so low—13 deg. below the freezing point of water—yet the ring of dew deposited on the instrument when it first appeared *was not frozen, I believe.*

MARCH 7, 1837, 9 a.m.—Therm. 42 deg.; hydr. 22. *The ring of dew on the hygrometer not frozen.* It did immediately on being touched with the point of the finger.

It frequently happens that a cloud or mist envelopes the pointed summits of the hill, while the vale below is quite clear.

This is most frequently seen in damp warm weather, or after heavy rains; its occurrence shews that the constituent temperature of the invisible vapour (or the dew point) and the temperature of the air are nearly equal. Should it happen during an interval of frosty or fine weather, it may be taken as the sure forerunner of approaching change, with rain. This cloud remains apparently stationary, even in the most windy weather; because the vapour continually forms and becomes visible on one side, while it again dissolves and disappears on the other. It sometimes increases considerably, so as to form quite a dense cloudy stratum spreading out to a distance from the hill side, subject to the same increase on one side and decrease on the other, the air in all other directions remaining clear.

APRIL 17, 1834, 9 a.m.—Barom. 29.840; therm. 39 deg.; hygrom. 38 deg. Wind light northerly; very foggy early. Now the fog has just risen above us; it is gradually disappearing as the temperature below advances. Every now and then a portion curls downwards, and then it immediately disappears.

Noon.—Therm. 51 deg.; hydr. 42 deg. *The temperature has now outstripped the dew point. At 9 in the morning the difference was only ONE DEGREE; now it is NINE.* All the fog has cleared, the wind blows from the S.S.E., and the sun shines.

EVENING.—11 p.m. It has been a beautiful day. At 5 the heavens were

thickly studded with high, delicate, pencilled cirri, moving very slowly from the west; below these were some rounded cirri-cumuli, moving with the wind from S.S.E. At this moment (11 p.m.) the heavens are clear, except towards the summits of the hill, where there are low, foggy, misty clouds forming, and moving from the east (therm. 41 deg.; hydr. 40). The hill condenses the vapour into thin cloudy expansions, which it is curious to watch. They begin to be just perceptible in the zenith, where, quickly enlarging, they spread out into a thin, white, almost transparent sheet; and becoming much more dense where they strike upon the summit of the hill, pass out of sight to the westward. These clouds are about three or four hundred feet above us. Their visible formation indicates how slight the circumstances may be which convert invisible vapour into cloud; for the hill some distance off determines the formation of cloud in our zenith. *Hence there are certain states of the atmosphere (the temperature of the air and the dew point nearly the same) when the hill condenses aerial vapour into cloud, the heavens in all other parts remaining clear.*

It sometimes occurs that a fog lies in the vale, and a cap of mist obscures the summit of the hill, with a clear interspace between.—(See fig. C.)

MARCH 1, 1830.—Wind S.W. Cloudy for the most part; mist obscures the summits of the hill; fog in the vale below; clear here.

MARCH 12, 1837, 8 a.m.—Snow covering the ground. Here the air is clear, the sun shines, and a light southerly breeze is blowing. In the vale, there is a long line of dense fog, which ends abruptly about half a mile below.

10 A.M.—Low clouds are forming, they cap the summits of the hill; the fog, although not so dense, still lies in the vale. Here the snow is all melted (therm. 37 deg.), and there is none now on the hill; but the meadows are still white with it below, and the trees are incrustated with crystals of hoar.

NOON.—The temperatures are equalized; the snow and hoar frost have disappeared below.

DECEMBER 16, 1837.—A rainy day, with S.E. breeze. In the evening the weather cleared up. 9 p.m.—The moon in the east shone brilliantly upon us here, shewing the dense fog in the vale, and also that the hill above was clothed by a sheet of vapour, which extended to the zenith; in fact, this place was in a clear space between two beds of vapour, an effect I have attempted to shew in fig. C.

The preceding facts tend to establish the existence of different strata in the atmosphere, or various currents, above one another, having different temperatures. Wherever the colder strata or cold currents are passing, there the visible condensation of vapour takes place. *If the coldest stratum rests upon the earth, there will be a fog; if it is more or less removed from the earth, the clouds will be higher or lower. Should there be two or three cold strata or currents interposed by warmer ones, there will then probably be two or three layers of clouds, with clear interspaces.* All these phenomena are produced, not by temperature alone, but by its influence in conjunction with the mingling of vapour of different densities, brought about by the currents of the atmosphere.

TEMPERATURE.

When the air is clear, the thermometer usually declines steadily throughout the night. But it occasionally happens, when the atmosphere is perfectly free from cloud, that the temperature does not fall between sun-set and sun-rise; it is either stationary or rising.

DECEMBER 10, 1829, 6. p.m.—A canopy of dark clouds cleared off, leaving a bright blue sky. At 11½ p.m. air still clear, with a brilliant full moon; yet the temperature is just the same now as at six. Captain Back, in his *Narrative of the Expedition of the Terror*, remarks, “January 2, 1837.—The barometer has reached the unusual height of 30.84, and, which is equally singular, the barometer rose from 34 deg. minus to 13 deg., under the influence of a clear blue sky and calms—a fact,” he goes on to say, “utterly at variance with all my former experience.”

A temperature above the mean or warm weather in winter does not at all depend upon the sun, but upon the movement and condensation of aqueous vapour.

A temperature above the mean or hot weather in summer is owing to the sun's influence in a clear sky.

In summer, when the air is free from cloud, the sun's rays rapidly augment the temperature in the shade. In winter, with a clear atmosphere, the sun's influence does not counterbalance the terrestrial radiation. Hence, in clear weather, at this season, the temperature is below the mean.

The following facts and observations will illustrate these remarks:—

NOVEMBER 5, 1833.—Wind blowing in gusts the whole day from the westward.

Thermometer, at 9 a.m.	46 deg.
" 10 a.m.	48 deg.
" 11 p.m.	55 deg. !

Dark heavy clouds forming towards evening, followed by heavy rain.

NOVEMBER 16, 1833.—Damp, foggy, cloudy.

Thermometer, at 9 a.m.	35 deg.
" 2 p.m.	42 deg. (rain)
" 11 p.m.	46 deg. (rain)
" 12 p.m.	48 deg. (cloudy).

DECEMBER 29, 1834.—Thermometer, at 9 a.m. 40 deg., at 11. p.m. 48 deg.

JANUARY 3, Thermometer, 9 a.m., 39 deg., rising to 44 deg. at 11 p.m.

SEPTEMBER 23, Thermometer, at 11 p.m., 51 deg. and before sun rise the next morning, 58 deg. This day, I have remarked, presents us with a thorough wintery indication; the thermometer rose during last night higher than it reached during any part of the last two days.

In clear weather, during the winter, the thermometer in the shade may rise several degrees above the foregoing point, and yet the hoar frost in the shade remain undissolved; shewing, as I have before observed, that at this season the radiation of heat from the ground, in shaded situations, more than counterbalances the influence of the sun; and consequently that warm weather in winter does not depend upon the sun, but upon the movement and condensation of the aqueous atmosphere.

FEBRUARY 14, 1830.—A clear sunny day, with a considerable quantity of hoar frost. At 10 a.m. a thermometer, with the bulb blackened and exposed to the sun, stands at 70 deg.; and another hung up in the shade, twelve feet from the ground, is 39 deg.; yet the hoar frost is still sparkling on the grass, in the shade.

MARCH 4, 1830, 9½ a.m.—Atmosphere clear; hoar frost still upon the grass in the shade. Thermometer with dark bulb, in the sun, 82 deg.; another in the shade, 36 deg.

JANUARY 2, 1835.—The sun shines warmly; the thermometer in the shade marks 37 deg.; yet everywhere out of the sun's rays the delicate spiculæ of hoar are not melted. The atmosphere is free from cloud.

JANUARY 16, 1836.—A beautiful day, sun throughout; yet in the shade the hoar frost does not melt, though the thermometer in the shade stands at 37.5.

Fig. D. shews the courses of the thermometer and barometer during a very remarkable change in the weather, in July, 1834. The dotted line refers to the temperature and to the figures on the right; the other, to the barometric pressure and to the figures on the left. It will be remarked that the barometer began to fall on the sixteenth of the month, and continued to do so rapidly until the morning of the nineteenth: at the same time a continued heavy rain fell, commencing on the morning of the eighteenth, and lasting, with hardly any intermission, till mid-day on the twenty-first. The temperature declined 25 deg. in two days—i.e. from 80 deg. on the seventeenth, to 55 deg. on the nineteenth. Scarlet fever prevailed, with great severity, during the autumn of this and the winter and spring of the succeeding year, 1835; and it is worthy of remark that the first case (a fatal one) occurred on the 21st, or just after the extraordinary change above noted.

The sensations experienced from changes of weather are modified in three ways—first, by variations in the temperature of the air; next, by the currents prevailing in it; and thirdly, by its hygrometric state. When the air is calm, with a mean temperature and high dew point, it feels close, even with a moderate temperature; when the dew point is low—that is, when the air is very dry—it feels cold, even with a medium temperature; and if the wind blows, it is positively cold and disagreeable.

Fig. E. exhibits a remarkable decline of temperature in June, 1835. Here again the dotted line refers to the temperature and to the figures on the right; and continuous one to the barometer, and to the figures on the left.

On the 10th the thermometer stood at 80 deg., and on the 11th at 82 deg. On the 13th it fell to 67 deg., and on the 16th rose to 77 deg. It fell on the 18th, without any change of wind or any rain, to 62 deg.; and on the 24th 25th, and 26th, the thermometer marked only 54, 55, and 53 deg. with heavy rain, being a difference of very nearly 30 deg. between the 11th and 25th of the month.

JANUARY 18, 1836.—In the evening, the atmosphere remaining free from cloud, it began to freeze sharply; and at 7 p.m. the roads were frozen quite hard, yet my thermometer has not been lower than 32 deg. Last night my thermometer did not descend below 32 deg.; yet the ground was frozen quite hard, and there was ice on all the little pools in the morning. Captain Back, in his *Narrative of the Expedition of the Terror*, has the following remark: "JULY 5, 1837.—Now ice was nightly formed in all the pools, and sometimes at the edges of the salt water, though, according to the thermometer, the temperature had only varied from 33 to 34 deg."

A thermometer fully exposed to the aspect of the sky will generally (although perfectly screened from the sun) stand, during the day, two or three degrees higher than one close by, where the exposure to the sky is interfered with by a wall or building. This difference I have often noticed, even on very cloudy days in spring or summer. On the other hand, at night, the thermometer (having a free exposure to the sky) is the lowest; and if the night is clear, three or four degrees lower.

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Outlines of Analogical Philosophy; being a preliminary view of the principles, relations, and purposes of Nature, Science, and Art; by George Field. Two volumes, 8vo. London, 1839. pp. lxxviii, 316, 478.

MR. FIELD'S *Outlines* form a system of didactic principles, developed with extreme conciseness and perspicuity; they are, therefore, insusceptible of farther analytical condensation. For this reason, we propose to limit our notice of this extraordinary performance to the solution of such extracts, representing his method and doctrine, as may induce the friends of "THE ANALYST" to submit the "Analogical Philosophy" to the scrutiny of their own judgment.

Mr. F. opens his "Outlines" with a general introduction, containing an exposition of his design and subject; and, as may be readily conceived, it abounds with curious and instructive observations. He believes the only remedy and corrective for that discordance of systems, which is the reproach of philosophy, to be the reverting to nature and the disregarding of whatever is peculiar in the systems and works of philosophers, while we take to our aid all those principles and developments in which they have concurred, or which all are bound to acknowledge, and to place them upon one sole foundation. As introductory to his own attempt in this important enterprise, he takes some very general surveys of the pro-

gress, fluctuations, and decline, historical and doctrinal, of the philosophy of past ages, keeping in mind that his purpose is not to write a history, but to elucidate a system of science. Ere science had a history, he observes, or philosophy a name, the human mind, unassisted by inspiration, would have made its advances through a long and oblivious period, of which there could be only conjecture. If, however, we take our view of the whole circle of art and philosophy, from the earliest periods recorded to the present time, we may clearly distinguish three grand æras in the history. The *first* was dignified by the sublime dogmas of intellect and theology, when the arts were yet in their infancy, and physical nature little inquired into or understood. This he denominates the *Æra of Intellect*, ending with the apostolic times. The *second* or middle period he names the *Æra of Sense*, when the arts attained their meridian, in the lustre of which shone a long train of geniuses, who carried the sensible arts to exalted perfection, and became models to succeeding ages. Last in the course of science came the votaries of physical nature, and theirs he designates the *Æra of Matter*, in which have arisen the luminaries of material and mechanic science, the great distinguishers of an æra which seems, in our own days, to approach its perfection.

Upon reflection, Mr. F. continues, it will be evident that the foregoing course and characteristics of the learned in philosophy have been, in effect, nearly the reverse of the character and progress of the mass of mankind, and of the natural advances of the human mind, during the same period; and that the former has been, in a great measure, determined by the latter. For, he reasons, as the first recorded æra—that of intellect—in which the learned were the moral instructors of mankind, who were then in a natural or physical state of intellect; so, on the present extreme, and in the present æra, in which the mass of mankind has become more enlightened, intellectual and artificial learning have quitted the moral, and taken the physical character; while in the middle state, and æra of sensitive art, society had emerged from savage life, without having attained any high degree of general intelligence. Herein, then, we may perceive the moral compensation of the Ruling and Divine Power, by which nature and intelligence have been balanced in the species, and sustained throughout all times for the advancement of the destination of man. The first period was principally passive or contemplative, or that of the philosophy of thought, as the latter period is active or practical, or that of the philosophy of things; and their connecting period was of a mixed character, being that of the philosophy of sensation; neither of them purely either, but predominately and in subordination: and we have, accordingly, seen the speculative philosophy of Germany arise amid the practical philosophy of the rest of Europe and the world. There remains yet, he concludes, for the progress of mankind, that philosophy should accomplish another æra, in which the influences of the three former shall be balanced and united as a whole.

Having represented the position and progress of philosophy historically, Mr. F. proceeds to consider it with regard to its doctrines only. He affirms that, as universal philosophy comprehends inherently the relations of science, and corresponds to those of man and the universe, every sect and system must partake of some or all of these relations, if it be in any respect philosophic. On this ground, therefore, he distributes the sects and systems of philosophy into three classes, corresponding to the first relations of science. *First*, that of the MATERIALISTS, whose doctrines are physically founded; *second*, that of the EXPERIMENTALISTS or empiricists, grounded upon sense and experience; and *third*, that of the INTELLECTUALISTS, established alone upon mind, as distinguished from matter and sense: and each of these is positive or dogmatical in asserting the reality of its own foundations, and negative or sceptical in doubting or denying that of the others. The universal DOGMATIST or active philosopher, therefore, is he who asserts the universal reality or absoluteness of things; and the universal SCEPTIC or passive philosopher is he who doubts and denies universally, without asserting any thing. The ANALOGIST stands intermediate to the two former, and admits a universal relative state, regarding it as the ground and medium of reconciliation between the discordances of dogmatism and scepticism. We feel desirous of having the following observations of Mr. F.'s duly considered.

"Dogmatism," he remarks, "or the regarding of things as *absolute*, has engaged philosophers perpetually in the search of simple causes, and it has given rise to the axiom that nothing can exist without a cause; but if nothing can exist without a cause, there can be no first cause, or the first cause is nothing, which is absurd. And, since things are universally relative, there is no category of cause, and no such thing as simple cause; but every effect is the result or produce of concurrence, which cannot be of one thing, but must be of *correlatives*. Hence, the First Cause is truly and philosophically a plurality in unity; and the doctrine of simple causes involves absurdity, and has no ground to rest upon. But while dogmatism impels the mind to a first cause, which it can never reach, it neither does nor can determine its species, whether it be material or intellectual; yet wanting an adequate notion of intellectual cause, it tends to materialism and atheism. On the other hand, *Scepticism*,—which comprehends the dogmatism of all other sects, and is, therefore, itself, extremely dogmatical—opposes one species of cause to another, and thereby destroys the absolute ground which it borrows from the other sects, and produces negation and suspension. Accordingly, scepticism, both ancient and modern, has sprung out of the ruins, and flourished upon the fallacies, of the dogmatic sects. It flatters not the powers of man; and though it satisfies none of the demands of reason and philosophy, but terminates in nihilism, it has operated as a salutary check to the too hasty determinations of the dogmatists, and urged to others more correct. Its inconsistencies are, what is skilfully detected of wrong, it fails from estab-

lishing of right ; and while it wars with all other sects, and totally destroys every source of dependence and satisfaction, it assumes *astaraxia*, or tranquility, as its chief object and end. But he who is most unsettled in belief or opinion, is most disturbed in mind ; and it is a fact that doubt and ignorance, in the inquiring mind, produce dejection and perturbation of spirit ; and such is eminently the effect of scepticism.

"Thus," he concludes, "dogmatism and scepticism tend alike to destroy religious and philosophic consolation and dependence, and bring reproach upon reason and philosophy : they are extremes without a mean, perpetually at variance. There is, nevertheless, a position to be attained between these extremes, wherein things are regarded as *relative*, and not *absolute* ; not as *positive* with dogmatism, not as *negative* with scepticism, but as *universally correlative or analogous*. This position belongs to Analogism, which is the *mean* for harmonizing the discordances of the sects. It demonstrates that, all knowledge being relative, the absolute is beyond its sphere, and thereby annihilates the ground of both dogmatism and scepticism, while it escapes from the extremes of confidence and distrust. More assiduous to establish true relations than to confute error, it teaches that all cause consists in concurrence, and that universal coincidence gives to the philosophic universe that consistency which universal gravitation gives to the physical—assimilating all things in unity of essence, relation, and end. It determines the scope of knowledge, and bounds it by irrefragable universal correlatives, which are the ground of knowledge, and therefore are unconditional and unknowable in essence : beyond which inquiry and dispute involve absurdity, and reason bends to that Incomprehensible Original, to whom it attributes 'all wisdom, power, and goodness'—'in whom we live, move, and have our being'—'who is in us, and we in Him'—'who is all in all'—the Being of beings—and 'everywhere always.' "

Mr. F. entertains the opinion that a philosophy similar, in many respects, to the *Analogical*, arose early among mankind, and was, perhaps, coeval with the literal invention of letters as the elements of speech. By a due investigation, he thinks it might be rendered apparent that this philosophy, having prevailed in the east in times of the remotest antiquity, after degenerating from its high moral and intellectual destination, laid the foundation of profane learning, and wrought from the fine senses of the ancient Greeks the sublimest productions of human genius. And, he observes, since it has conducted to art and science, and promoted the best interests of mankind, it behoves us to cherish the remains of this philosophy, and to endeavour to restore it at the root. Accordingly, he has made it the design of his "Outlines" to investigate the ground of philosophy, in quest of the principles, relations, and purposes of nature, art, and science ; while he aims, also, at supplying a deficiency of the syllogistic and inductive methods, and thereby at restoring philosophy to its original foundation and native simplicity, upon the

basis of a genuine logical analogy, which supplies the forms sought through induction, and the universals to which syllogism owes its validity. Hence, summarily, the main object of his work is, by a universal analysis, upon a single principle, to develop, or at least to indicate, the true Analogical System of the Universe, throughout its various branches—to trace it to its sacred source—and to establish, if not a totally new, yet an original and hitherto neglected, method of philosophizing by analogism, upon the ground of which, by the exhausting course of previous philosophies, philosophers are naturally impelled. We transcribe, in an ample quotation, the subsequent explanatory remarks: they begin at p. lxviii. of Mr. F.'s general introduction.

Foreseeing the probability of exceptions to his system, he states "as to any resemblance in the form of our doctrine to those symbolized by the eastern philosophers, Hermetics, Gymnosophists, latter Platonists, Cabalists, Rosicrucians, Theosophists, Behmenites, Hutchinsonians, Masonics, or Metaphysicians, we have already given the answer—that we are indebted to nature and thought only for such resemblances. Where the Mystics, in particular, obtained their dogmas, or through what compositions or corruptions of doctrines, is no inquiry of ours; all the coincidences we have with them are consequent to our preconceptions: and there is one respect in which we are directly opposed to most or all of them; namely, to really or pretendedly cloaking our doctrine in *mystery*: that which is not clearly to be understood, either as matter of fact or reason, is nothing, or of no philosophic value, for us. Nevertheless, truth may be in less danger, when obscured or veiled, than when naked or exposed; for such is the spirit of criticism, that he who writes clearly, and reaches the understanding, is likely to be *controverted*; while he who mysteriously addresses the imagination will probably be *interpreted*; for the glory of bringing to light a hidden sense in the one case, or of confuting that which is apparent to common sense in the other, no less than for the more laudable object of detecting error.

"That the philosophists have held extraordinary and sublime poetical notions, founded upon great and original truths, natural or revealed, and that there was, in times of ignorance, barbarity, and darkness, necessity or expediency for disguise, we think probable, and admit; but in times of free discussion and intelligence mysteries are not marks of wisdom, but symbols of ignorance and darkness, or symptoms of the really having nothing to disclose, under the mask of solemnity, and the assumption of superior if not of supernatural knowledge: a knowledge which (without questioning the eternal and ever-present agency of the divinity) the sanely religious and philosophic mind will ever disclaim, if by such is meant any thing not conformable to the grandest scale of regularity and order in the works and ways of Omnipotence.

"We need scarcely admonish the reader that our system is a whole, not to be comprehended without consideration, nor clearly

and adequately understood in parts, every part being of universal reference. It is hence obnoxious, in a remarkable degree, to the censure of the hypercritic, who, dipping partially into it, without having well studied it in its principles and as a whole, will meet with the most gratifying paradoxes. Nor will it be extraordinary if, on the wide scale of our inquiry, we should have committed mistakes or evinced deficiency, or that the individual sciences, as we have treated them, should be found defective; for in these times we have distinct sciences of many kinds in a state of high and extended cultivation, and a rapidity of progress in others that defies pursuit, although, it must be admitted, we have no science of science itself.

“Nor have we pretensions to extraordinary superiority of information in any of the sciences, and profess not in these “*Outlines*” to have settled science in any of its departments, but only to have thrown out hints whereon they may be remodelled, adapted, and improved, and to have laid a foundation for them in the doctrine of universal analogy, which gives form and consistency to the whole. We shall, therefore, be well content if the having established a principle and plan for their connexion be alone conceded to us; professing only, in humble and most distant comparison (as was professed by Pherecydes, the master of Pythagoras and father of Grecian philosophy), ‘to have opened a way to knowledge, rather than to have discovered any thing.’ Nor have we in any case infringed the laws of philosophizing established by the high authority of Newton, in Book III. of his *Principia*—‘allowing of no more causes than are true and sufficient, attributing similarity of causes to similar effects, and regarding action and re-action universally as co-equal and opposed principles.’

“Should it seem to such as may take only a cursory view of our whole work, without looking to the solidity of its foundation, that we have indulged in a fanciful trichotomy, we must again plead its prevalence throughout nature, and that we regard all *arbitrary triads* unwarrantable, incongruous, and to be guarded against by the philosopher, as leading only to absurdity and confusion; while we maintain it to be a criterion of the genuine philosophic triad that it is either a natural fact or a necessary reason—correlative, complete, and not to be confuted. We reject, therefore, all arbitrary and fanciful triads, as impressively as the true Christian, who founds his faith upon a Divine Trinity, rejects *tritheism*; foreseeing that the former leads to the ridiculous in philosophy, as certainly as the latter conducts to idolatry and absurdity in religion, without due attention to which, the trinitarian will be exceedingly liable to fall into mystic, false, and fantastic doctrines. We have guarded, therefore, as sedulously against suffering any possible predilection to betray us into the trivial introduction of triads; but if the recurrence of genuine triads should tire attention, they may often be read unheeded without prejudice to the context; and it is borne in mind that we write neither to please the ear nor delight the imagination, but to elicit thought and understanding.

"Notwithstanding a triadic management pervades our entire system, it is not the principle, but an accident of our philosophy, from which it springs through essential reason, as in like manner, it appears amid the particulars of Nature as a fact, and throughout its whole arrangement as a universal relation ; it is, therefore, a necessary form of truth, and has attended all its movements, ever since the human mind began to operate, or knowledge took an erudite form. Accordingly, triadism has a history as ancient as that of learning and science, and may be traced more extensively perhaps, than any other human recognition.

"It is not, however, with the remarkable history of triadism that we are principally concerned, nor with the instinct and superstitions by which it has been fostered, but with the truth of which it is the relic, and on which it is founded : whence it stands as a form of Christian faith ; belongs, in like manner, to consciousness : is a law of Nature and an axiom of science, concerning which the ministers of religion and defenders of the Holy Trinity, in modern times, have recorded much historical and literary matter, and volumes might be swelled with instances of its instinctive application throughout the particulars of literature, science and art. There have been writers"—such as Jones of Maryland, Dr. Harrington of Bath, and Herschel the illustrious astronomer—"who have regarded it as an occasional form in Nature ; but we know of none who have held it to be such universally. It was by the approbation of Dr. Harrington, that we were encouraged, thirty years ago, in the prosecution of the plan now briefly developed ; and, although the triadic form of doctrine therein sprung from our philosophy, we pretend not therefore to have originated it, nor have we followed it in any case for itself, but for the true analogical reasoning and original nature to which it inherently belongs.

"Notwithstanding triadism had thus appeared, and sustained itself partially in all ages and countries by the bias of nature and tradition ; and, although its prevalence had been remarked by writers in some instances of nature and science, the universal analogy in which it is founded has not been disclosed by any : and, even in the high reference of religion, it has been maintained as a mystery—an article of necessary faith alone—divinely revealed—beyond the power of philosophic solution—solitary—and entirely above reason, nature, and comprehension.

"Thus we have deemed it expedient to prelimitate concerning this form of doctrine and its history, the particulars of which might supply matter for volumes of no ordinary interest and curiosity. Our object here is, however, to anticipate any prejudice against our plan and method, which may arise from the regarding it as mere invention, innovation, or fantasy ; and to protest against triadism, being held forth as the first principle and matter of our philosophy, of which it is the form and offspring only.

"But our best defence against any suspicion of fantastic doctrine, and our test of genuineness, is, that we contend no further for our

system than it may promote the interests of science, and the good of mankind, while we disclaim all zealotism and deprecate, in the name of religion and philosophy, all proselytes who are not volunteers to truth alone: for although truth acknowledges disciples, she does not of either sect or party. In attempting, therefore, the amalgamation of revelation and philosophy we have been influenced by no vain design of subjecting either to either, in any of their forms, but solely by a desire to reconcile them through truth; and although conscious of having by no means done justice to so capable a subject, yet, if we shall appear to have succeeded so far as to lead the philosophic and rational mind nearer to the truths of Christianity, we shall, without regret, have accomplished our object, not doubting that that faith in both, which most closely embraces truth, will in the end prevail, and that hence, it becomes the interest of every form of christianity to cultivate this holy alliance of reason and religion." So much, for an insight into Mr. Field's exposition of the principles which pervade his system of analogical philosophy.

Mr. Field distributes the "Analogical philosophy" into the four principal parts—universal philosophy—disciplines—analogy of the sciences—and analogy of the arts—and he otherwise arranges it into eight particular "Outlines," subdivided into chapters and sections. His numerous themes are—O. I., first principles, mesology, physiology, zoology, philology, ontology, teleology, with an ingenious synoptical table. O. II., analogy of language, signs or characters, grammar, syntax, and style. O. III., analogy of logic, subjective philosophy, logical science, dialectics, analogism, syllogism, induction, method, sophistry. O. IV., analogy of the mathematics, they are the science of measure and quantity, arithmetic, geometry, mechanics. O. V., analogy of the sciences, physics, chemistry, botany, medicine. O. VI., analogy of the sensible sciences, esthetics, plastic, chromatics, harmonics, appetitive senses, the passions. O. VII., analogy of the moral sciences, ethics, morals, politics, theology. O. VIII., analogy of the arts, science of ends, technology, technics, purposes of art, conclusion, which ends with the annunciation—that every new doctrine and practice promulgated will, in the end, stand or fall, according as it may be supported or opposed by the true decisions of reason and the correct testimony of experience, and neither by prejudice nor opinion. The very earth we inhabit, which to the eye of common sense is a plain of boundless extent, diversified by mountain and vale, is nevertheless universally acknowledged by astronomers to be a globe. Even so the universe, material and immaterial, which common apprehensions behold as unbounded, and as constituted of innumerable natures absolutely distinct and individual, must be regarded from its true intellectual position and logically as universally correlative, and identical in essence, ere man can attain the position of mind upon which depends his true moral progress, individual and social, and the right comprehension of the universe by which he is insphered, and of which God is the sovereign source, sustainer, and supreme end.

Let us now illustrate Mr. Field's mode of conducting his analogical developments with a few miscellaneous selections. He defines chemistry to be, that physical science which comprehends the *actions, passions, and effects* of all material substances; and then, having distinguished the analogy of this science, he sets apart his concluding section to be the vehicle of these important remarks.

"The sum," he says, "of our argument physically is, that as reason demands, so experience demonstrates, that all material nature depends primarily upon one sole physical agent and patient which are in chemistry an active or oxygenous and a reactive, hydrogenous or phlogistic principles, elements or powers, which occur in the productions of solids, liquids and elastics; and that, in fact, there are no other elements than powers, agency, reagency, coagency, into which whatever has been regarded as elements may be resolved. As passion is reaction and thus resolves into agency, it is manifest that all *physical existence* is ultimately grounded upon action, or an agent; *action and existence* are, therefore physically and metaphysically synonymous. In like manner, all metaphysical or intellectual existence resolves into *relations* which is the category of mind, as existence is of matter; and action and passion are universal relations as well as principles. Thus, powers, are intelligences; and into one *universal intelligence* flows all essence or existence—the ground of all things; beyond which inquiry falls upon insanity—all faculties fail—and imagination itself has neither basis nor buoyancy.

"If this theory is well founded, it affords a sublime physical and metaphysical analogy whereby God and the world become reconciled according to reason and the sacred records, whereby at the creation God, the triune Eloim, manifested himself personally in *the elements—in light and darkness—in his spirit*, whereby he separated them—in the *rainbow*, wherein he united them at the covenant—in *fire*, to Moses and the Israelites—in *lightnings and whirlwinds*, to Elijah and the people at Horeb and Mount Carmel. He whose *ministers are a flame of fire—who is everywhere* and in all things—*whom no man hath seen nor can see*, any more than he hath seen or shall see the elements. And this doctrine reconciles the physics and theology of the Bible according to reason and experience."

From Mr. Field's analogy of the moral sciences, we transcribe his observations on VIRTUE.

With him, "the term *virtue* has not only a universal and abstract signification, but it has an endless diversification. The Pythagoreans, who used it in the abstract, yet distinguished it into many species, had physical virtues, ethical virtues, political virtues, cathartic virtues, the oretic virtues, paradigmatic and other virtues. So we have cardinal virtues, christian virtues, moral virtues, physical virtues, in their various species, and there is no end to the race of virtues, which in abstract means power or capability to some end physical, sensible, or moral. Virtue is, therefore, whatever be its form, a term for something else; for it is an instrument or faculty,

and therefore not rationally to be regarded as a moral end. In the entire acceptation of the term, then, virtue is an efficient not of morals only, but is as various as its objects; yet has it similitude of relations in them all. Hence in agriculture as in morals, it is by *virtue* of labour and the soil that men obtain corn and wine, and all the rich produce of the vegetable creation; and for this *produce* it is that the husbandman cultivates the soil, and not for the sake of any virtue in the soil itself or in himself. If, however, an opposite doctrine were to be inculcated by the agriculturist, it is barely possible that a few fanatic grumblers might be found to cultivate the soil *disinterestedly* or for its own sake, or for its virtue independently of its produce—and such in effect is the principle of slave cultivation; but men in general could not be found from a free motive to follow such a doctrine in practice and if through any circumstances such a theory could be established in any country the practice of agriculture would there languish or cease, or at least it would not be followed upon principle, but men would till the land in agricultural demerit for the sake of its fruits, and esteem the virtue of the soil for their sake alone. Even so especially it is in morals and all ethics, when men are called upon to cultivate *virtue for virtue's sake*, and not for *happiness*: the fruit, produce, and purpose—the heavenly reward of virtue. Yet into this mistake have most of the moral sects fallen, whether Brahmin, Gymnosophist, Pythagorean, Platonist, Stoic, Rationalist or Sceptic, and many have presumed to palm it upon christianity, and oppose it to the common sense, natural instinct, and conscious reason of mankind. The moral doctrine of Moses, and that of Christ in particular, are built upon rewards and promises. The Sermon on the Mount is full of them; we are therein instructed to lay up treasure in heaven—to ask and receive—to seek and find—to knock and it shall be opened—to seek first the kingdom of God, that all goods may be added unto us, and to love our neighbour as ourself—in a word, the mighty motives to Christian virtue, are present and eternal rewards. Nor are we required, in any instance, to act from, or idolize, an abstract principle of virtue: an idolatry which the patriot and stoic Brutus justly complained had in the end betrayed him.”

Self-love is a term much used, but little understood; generally, it has the misfortune to be employed as the vehicle of an unamiable or bad import. With the bulb of his “analogical philosophy,” however, Mr. Field assigns to the word a less repulsive signification. His speculations on the nature of self-love, and its proper influence on conduct, are ingeniously developed and curiously illustrated. Such being the character of his doctrine, our readers may not feel disinclined from endeavouring to weigh its importance without prejudice or preconception.

Having arrived at the conclusion that virtue cannot rationally be considered as a moral end, Mr. F. pursues his analogical argument; and, at paragraph 1248, he observes, “With regard to moral motive, man cannot be disinterested if he would, and at the same time

preserve his rationality ; since a reasonable being can act only with counsel, and but with a view to some end. To put the end out of view in moral action, or to make a principle its end, is to rob virtue of its proper object. To require a man to act only from the imperative commands of duty, or obligatorily and without interest or end, gives moral motive over to necessity, and deprives it of merit, and constrains a man to act mechanically, or through external impulse—as a slave, and not as one freely engaged for hire or reward. Such specious disinterestedness deprives virtue of true moral impulse, and thereby apportioning the greater labour to the weaker motive ; and although there be something chivalrous and heroic in disinterested virtue, it is ill qualified to become a universal moral motive of mankind ; add to which, the true dignity and government of virtue belong to reason, and not to enthusiasm. The end of all moral action is *good* ; moral good is *happiness*, and this happiness, this good, and this end, are never to be lost sight of by the moralist ; in *freedom to act for an end* is the very essence of morals ; nevertheless, it is evident that *duty* and *interest* and *reward* concur therein, and the Divine moralist inculcates both. We are far, therefore, from denouncing the motive of *duty*, by bringing it into subordination with *right-interest* in practical morals, and confining it to a theoretic station. We designate not, however, by the term *interest*, that gross and narrow selfishness which is improvident of our universal ultimate good, and is inimical to true self-interest, but that liberal, intelligent, and expanded selfishness which, disregarding present advantage, takes an interest in self-denial and in the good of others ; and that broadest of all selfishness which identifies man with man and with his God. We mean that ultimate selfishness by which the Divinity is above all distinguished—by which He draws all to Himself ; whence is derived the selfishness by which man also grasps at all, of which it is the pattern, and in which man errs only when, through ignorance and degeneracy, he grasps individually, materially, sensually, and blindly, for want of perceiving his genuine, best, and highest interest, in connexion with virtue and intellect. To be morally virtuous is, accordingly, imperative in the natural constitution of a truly reasonable or intellectual being. In proportion, therefore, as a man is criminal, the faculty of reason and intelligence fails him ; and the vicious act of such a man, however great he may be, impugns his understanding, lowers his rank in society, and degrades him in the order of beings.

We deprecate for our doctrine the obloquy attendant on a selfish morality, as commonly regarded ; but truth, and not concession and flattery, is the proper instrument of philosophy. Truly regarded, we have no apprehension of evil consequences from right-interestedness, which is but the duty a man owes to himself—the first and last of his duties, and that to which he is most readily inclined by his moral nature ; which, indeed, goes hand in hand with right inclination. And it is only necessary for every individual to do the best that can be done for himself, that the whole genus of

man may move morally and happily, while the ostentatious principle of disinterested and public virtue too often elevates the individual without benefiting the many; and when public virtue is not founded on individual or private worth, it springs from enthusiasm or madness, and is not at all to be trusted; for true policy and all morality, like true charity, begin at home. The ennobling power of heroic virtue may make a hero without influencing the morals of mankind, affecting them otherwise than with admiration, or envy and despair—admiration of such exalted virtue and self-devotion; envy and despair of attaining such elevation, and its soul-inspiring reward. Better, therefore, are those practical moral principles which raise the mass of mankind, and contribute less to the glory of individuals than to the honour and happiness of the species; add to which, there is nothing incompatible in the union of these motives. These principles we believe to harmonize with such a moral conduct of the individual as best ensures his own permanent good in conjunction with that of others; and we regard as extremes equally to be avoided by the moral man, that interestedness which begins and terminates in self, and that disinterestedness which deceives him with the fanatical idea of a total self-sacrifice.

“Some authorities recognize in selfishness the mainspring of human action; others have adopted it as a universal principle; none, however, have reflected that self-love is not simple, and that that may be true of one of its elements, which is false of the other. Accordingly, if we analyze *self-love*, it resolves, in the first place, into *self*; and this, separately examined, terminates in neither more nor less than *consciousness*, which is universal; and secondly, it resolves into *love*; which also, separately examined signifies, in every case, *partiality* and preference, and is the desire by which self or the same, would unite with *something out of self*, or the different. Now self, of necessity, standing first, requires no *preference*: and to deny self altogether is to quit consciousness, as he does who sacrifices life to any object of desire or love. In strictness, therefore, self-love is a contradiction, for man is indigent of what he *loves* or desires; and a man does not want himself, for *self* he has; and he will not act for the sake of self, but for something which he wants out of self, which he regards as his *good*. Self-denial is the antagonist, or opposite, of *self-love*, and concurs therewith in the moral operations of the individual, and is capable of a similar analysis; denial, in this case, signifying *rejection*, and being the will or desire by which *self* would disunite from something out of self. *Self-interest* is the same as *self-love*, for *interest* is the desire of the acquisition of, or union with, something out of self, as *self-denial* is the alienation and opposite of such acquisition and interest. As principles of moral energy, therefore, self-interest, self-love, and self-denial, concur universally, for man desires either to *receive* or *reject* in all his actions.

From this concurrence arises what may be called self-election; and *election* implies freedom or choice (that is, *free will*), and demands a right *knowledge* of good and evil, that he may elect with under-

standing that which serves his true interest or moral end—that is, choose or will his motive according to the best of his understanding. It is not self, then, or the *subject*, but the *object* of self, that he prefers or selects, and the onus of duty lies in the choice of the best objects to identify with self—that is, the least particular, and the most general or universal; and for this he is to use his self-election in the exercise of *self-love* and *self-denial*. *Self-love* is always sacrificed to *self-denial*, equally by the vicious and the virtuous, when the objects of self-election require choice; and a vice or virtue established in the mind becomes the object of self-election, habitual, hobbyhorical, and expedient to it; and to this object self-denial operates as strongly as self-love. Humanity, country, friends, family, all affections, whether of avarice or other passion or appetite, virtue or vice, gives way to this ruling object, and it becomes in their place the incentive to action. So imperative is this love of the object thus associated with self, especially if it belong to the senses, that be it lust, gaming, gluttony, or other vice, it will carry a man on to the destruction of self, regardless alike of body and spirit. Hence the expediency of engaging proper objects or determinatives of action, and of diverting the mind from bad associations of mind and body, which thus enslave the will. *Self-love*, we have said, resolves into personality, subjectivity, or self; and impersonality, objectivity, or love. And as the object or thing loved is as various as are the relations of man, so also is the subject, or self, correspondingly various: and accordingly there is a *self of the body*, a gross and appetitive selfishness; there is a self of the senses and affections, being a more refined and pathetic selfishness; and there is also a *self of the soul*, mind, or spirit, above all other self, through which the whole is rectified; an intellectual selfishness, whose good alone is purely moral, connecting the good of the individual with the good of all through will, and mounting to the love of God. Hence the passions enter not into the perfection of moral motive, which is to be virtuous from good will, without the incentives of fear and hope; and good will is the willing of good, which is the highest moral end, and terminates in religious love, which divides itself into the loving of God, the universal Being, with all our hearts, and our fellows generally as we love ourselves individually. And he only truly loves himself, and is most of all himself, who exercises his whole self-love through his moral, and not through his physical self. It is then that the principle of self surmounts in dignity and importance the more specious principle of disinterestedness and public virtue, and that the love of happiness, if it be not the same in effect as the love of virtue, assumes a more soul-exalting influence in morals. If, on the contrary, morality required that an individual should seek the good of others disinterestedly, and not for his own good, and that we should love others in preference to self-love, this could only be by the loving and acting of every one for another, or for others, or for all; and what would be the gain? For in proportion as love and service are divided, they become weak-

ened ; and if every man justly love and serve himself, all will be loved and served. Just as, if every man reformed his own conduct, all would be morally and politically corrected. Whereas, by inattention to self in these respects, and in place thereof, by vain endeavours to control others into right and good, counteraction arises, and, although good be sought, thereby nothing but disorder and evil can ensue, as the revolutionary principle of public utility has evinced ; and as the adoption of philanthropy as a motive (however good in its relation) has also, by degrading private charity, which is so self-ennobling to the heart. Had the Divine Author of our being formed us upon such a plan, confusion only could have followed, but, with all-seeing wisdom, He implanted in every breast *self-love*, so called, and made *rectitude* or virtue the condition of its accomplishment ; commanding us Christians, and all men, to love Him with all our soul, heart, and strength, and our *neighbours as ourselves*, and to love even them that hate us. In fine, this principle of self-love or self-regard is universal. In politics, it is that upon which nations professedly, and without hypocrisy, act towards each other, however deficient of wisdom and benevolence they may have been in practice ; and in *religion* it is, finally, the principle of God in the creation and preservation of all things for His own glory and good, administered though it be with all His attributes of perfect power, wisdom, and benevolence : from the time ‘ when He laid the foundations of the earth, He rejoiced in His works, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.’ This principle, then, exalts us to God, and is far above any principle of disinterestedness, public virtue, patriotism, or philanthropy, which are but as parts to the whole, however partially admirable or questionably sincere they may be, and however suitable under circumstances, when inculcated in the way of discipline, are very inadequate as a doctrine, and very inefficient in practice or energy. The self-love, then, that we advocate, merges into, and identifies itself with, the love of God and of all that is His ; and thereby it escapes from that gross and reprehensible passion which bounds itself within the narrow sphere of physical individuality.”

Mr. Field’s “ analogy of religion ” is an elaborate and extraordinary exposition of doctrine. He represents theology as the highest of the ethical sciences, the pinnacle of all science, it being the science of the relations of created intelligences with the self-subsistent intellect, or of human consciousness with the divine, or of Man universally with God. Hence, he conceives that all religious effects depend upon the concurrence of the will of man with the will of God. An inquiry, therefore, concerning the true signification and conception of Deity is the *first* essential of theology ; *next* to which is the inquiry into the nature of Man and his relation to God ; and *lastly*, to these succeed the forms of the science, and the logical modes through which Man seeks the knowledge of God on the ground of science, in harmony with divine revelation. Without such *first* inquiry, the chief object of religion—THE SUPREME BEING—though

universally acknowledged, must be very inadequately and variously conceived; without the *second*, Man and his relations to God must be as inadequately and variously understood; and, without the last, Man can have no clear comprehension of religion, and no certain or sufficient foundation for his faith. Hence, again, he adds, the innumerable objects of adoration—the various denominations under which the Deity has been worshipped in different ages and countries—the strange rites and many forms of theology—and the endless variety of religious creeds and opinions. On inquiring into the signification of the names and epithets by which the *Supreme Being* has been designated, Mr. Field “finds it resolve in them all into that originality and universality through which we attain to God, and beyond which there is no conception. Such are the *Almighty*, the *Omnipotent*, *Jehovah*, the *Universal Essence*, *Eloim*, the *Creator*. This originality and universality is also implied in the relative names of *Father*, Lord, and the like; and it is also expressed by the terms *Omniscient*, *Omnipresent*, *All-bountiful*, by which we denote the attributes of Deity; and when men ascribe to God *power* in his principles, *wisdom* in his means, and *goodness* in his purposes, these terms are understood *universally* and *underivedly*. In like manner, all the incommunicable attributes of God—His self-subsistence, absoluteness, unity, simplicity, eternity, immensity, immutability, indefatigability (for He only is either or all of these)—are understood as original, universal, and final. As the *Most High*, we denote *Him above all*; and, when He is called *The Eternal*, He is but designated by the attribute of *Time universal*, not only as *eviternal*, but as *sempiternal*—both without beginning and without end. Hence, we may conclude that the term God, in its most extensive and comprehensive sense, is synonymous with *Universal* or *Original*, *Final*, and *Supreme Being*. Again, the highest and most comprehensive of all conceptions to which the mind of man can be elevated by the powers of understanding and philosophy, is the *totality* of things, internal and external—that in which *all* is united, or wherein *all* things exist—the *Subject of all objects*—the *Universal Essence*—the *Sole and Supreme Being*—the bound of all conception and consciousness—the Spirit of all. But this is *the God of reason and science*, who, like the GOD OF REVELATION, ‘in whom we live and move and have our being,’ is One and indivisible; the Sovereign LORD of the Universe, who created *all* things by His power, preserveth *all* things by His providence, and ruleth *all* by His wisdom. We have previously shewn that all things, individually and collectively, resolve into three incorporeal principles, or essences, each absolutely and reciprocally essential to the others, and there is nothing conceivable independent of this co-relation. The Universal Self-subsistent Being, the God of Reason and Science, like the God of Revelation, is therefore *Triune*, yet not *three* gods, but *One God*; and every natural object becomes a symbol of Divinity—of that *Triune ELOIM* who created light, darkness, and the elements, by His word, and formed

the world and man in His own image, from His own being, of His own will, out of nothing."

According to Mr. F.'s method of philosophizing analogically, he sets down the propositions as demonstrated—*First*, that, in a physical view, the elements of matter are powers essentially immaterial; that the physical universe resolves into *one all-powerful agent*, the source of all other powers and of all existence; and that the physical and material world is subordinated to the moral and divine. *Second*, that between the physical and intellectual, or material and moral views, throughout the world of sense, all the loves and aversions of animate nature are ruled by *one all-connecting harmony and love*. *Third*, that, in an intellectual view, thought is a *unifying* process; that in whatever way man attains knowledge, it is by this process, and by *uniting* his thoughts; that the result of thought, in every course, is a *unity*; and that, in fine, the last attainment of all thought is an absolute *Universality*, one intelligible intellect, an all-comprehending consciousness. Adopting the establishment of these propositions, Mr. F. goes on to say—

"Thus, in the natural course of the mind, the pure idea of ONE LIVING GOD is the *last* attainment of human knowledge, utterly inconceivable in the early state and progress of man, and unattainable through any course of idolatries, till manifested in mercy by Divine Revelation, of which it stands in Holy Writ sublimely *first*—'In the beginning, God!' Of essences, elements, and first principles, in themselves, we know nothing, since they are not the conditions of knowledge itself, but only their effects and attributes: hence the attributes and effects of the Universal Essence can alone be known; and the God of reason, like the God of revelation, is *ineffable, and incomprehensible in essence*—the Being of being. In universal principles, we comprehend *all powers*; in universal relations, *all wisdom*; and in universal purposes, *all good*; and these are the prime attributes of God. Thus, God has goodness, which *is* the best; wisdom to *know* the best; and power to *do* whatever is best and fittest to be done; and these connect the moral and physical attributes of God in one, philosophically and universally. And in like manner we universalize all other attributes of the Divinity, to whom nothing can be truly ascribed with limitation. The God of reason then, is that infinite and sole Absolute Being—the triune Essence of all—which the universal conception of the universal system points to, but does not make known otherwise than symbolically through his works and energies. Hence, conceptions of God and his attributes can be acquired in intellectual, sensible, and material nature alone; whence arise the personification of God and the Divine Hypostases and attributes, whereby vulgar conception is assisted, and at the same time inclined to idolatry, when unsupported by the juster and more expanded views of universal science and Divine revelation."

Mr. F. then proceeds to trace, although in a manner somewhat discursive, the idea of a God to universality through names and attri-

butes philologically—through the faculties of the understanding categorically and logically—through existence and consciousness ontologically—and through the whole analogically. He next takes for a subject of inquiry, the *God of Nature* to whom man attains, through experience and physical analogy, or naturally; for, he says, man arrives at something necessary and underived, the ground of all cause—eternally progressive—indefatigable because irresistible—and all this, because to negate is to affirm, and non-existence is inconceivable. There is therefore, he concludes, a

“*Universal Relative Being*, eternally generating and producing—the beginning and great end of all—whose energies and acts appear to be throughout nature, the development of intellect and being, circulating or returning to its immortal source, and thence regenerated, and sent forth in renewed energy and production, analogous to the ethereal circulation by which the material universe appears to be produced, actuated and sustained physically. This view of Deity terminates also in spirituality, and thereby escapes from Pantheism, which makes of nature a physical God; and it identifies itself also, in the end, with Revelation: whence arises the powerful influence of the literature and teaching of the christian Physico-theologists in leading minds through common sense, taste, nature, and science, to the portal of pure Christianity. *Holy, holy holy—thrice holy—is the Lord of Hosts: the whole Earth is full of His glory.* Such is the God of nature and the eternal to whom man attains, through intrinsical reason, analogically: for if consciousness and existence are identical in essence, and their primary effects are alike mutually causal or concurrent, then are they not only identical in essence and original, but they are also co-essential. There is, therefore, an Original Being, the source and sustenance, or substance of all consciousness, relation, and existence, and this Being is the God of reason and nature, and such also is the God of Scripture and of Christian theism, the God of whose universal essence man has the same evidence as he has of his own individual essence soul, or consciousness: nor do we assert nevertheless, that the universe is God, for his Essence lies beyond all, the cause of all. There was a similar spiritual tendency in the theology of the purest and sublimest of the Greek philosophers who theorized upon the intellect, and whose doctrines have been infused into christianity and accord remarkably with the more spiritual evangelism of St. John, the approved disciple of Christ: and also with the Christian philosophy and apostolic doctrine of the most learned of the apostles, St. Paul. The Pythagoreans deified numbers: but the Platonists deified the whole of the science: both, indeed, refined upon the material gods of idolatry, and the sensual gods of their mythology, by sublimating their divinities above Intellect and the intelligible into the Scientific—nearing, but missing, the pure spirituality of Christianity. Upon the whole then, philosophy requires and demonstrates in perfect accordance with most ancient christian creeds, *One Universal God in Trinity, and*

Trinity in Unity of three co-essential, incorporeal subsistences, modes, forms, personalities, or hypostases, whose essence is ineffable and transcends comprehension, and who exhibits himself everywhere to the pious philosophic eye, infinite and eternal, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent,—universal in power, wisdom, and goodness—indefatigable, indigent and ignorant of nothing, and incapable of evil or of error. Such also in nothing differing, is the God of Revelation, who has declared himself the Great Existence—the “I AM”—the Sole Existence—‘Beside one there is nothing unknowable;’ for ‘no man shall behold my face and live.’ Thus, even to the most favoured, as it was in Moses, the view of God is posterior only, or through his works and ways, and not by prior or immediate vision.”

Mr. Field prolongs his “analogy of religion” to a complete and surprising development, and his views expose to critical theologians a subject of profound and difficult investigation. We might bring before them, for studies, various other important extracts; but, our limits being exceeded, we ought to conclude this lengthened article. Nevertheless, we must indulge our desire to adduce one illustration of the author’s theological doctrines; and this we hold to be appropriately introduced into a scientific journal. Having expatiated on the philosophy of religion which builds, upon the ultimity of reason, a firm foundation for faith, he further observes—

“But the man exercises faith unlawfully and through indolence, who yields it to things which are attainable through reason, and ordinary thought and experience: for faith should be the resort and dependence of the soul, where it is bounded by nescience, or the ignorance that succeeds to knowledge. True faith is the conviction or consciousness of things which lie beyond the boundaries of reason and experience, and comes in aid when and where these faculties fail us; ‘for by wisdom man hath not known God.’ As the Author of reason would not do that which is against reason, and as revelation is from God, and reason is the principle in man upon which the extreme of faith in God depends, revelation must go hand in hand, if we would not absurdly entertain the one without the other. It has accordingly been the aim of the best and most enlightened divines and fathers of the Christian Church to support the accordance of revelation and philosophy, and to place the doctrines and faith of christianity upon the ground of universal reason. And, happily, true reason is the rock of christianity—upon which it was first established—with which it has weathered all storms—and, by the strength of which, it will be undoubtedly sustained for ever. Of *reason*, the first of these powers, we have this unquestionable evidence, that christianity, after being rejected in its native country by the degenerate of Israel, although founded on pure Judaism, was first established, in despite of prejudice and human authority, among the Greeks and Romans, the most powerful, intellectual, reasoning, scientific and celebrated people that the world had thitherto pro-

duced, and who were undoubtedly prepared for such an advent by that Divine Wisdom which inspires man, in all times, to reason and know truly.

“*Revelation*, the second of these powers, is incontestible; for who will question the power with which Christianity has resisted the blasts of ancient and modern infidelity, grounded on the illogical assumptions of atomism and sensualism? Or who will deny that it has been professed by the most truly distinguished geniuses of its entire period, and proclaimed by the most enlightened of modern nations, till in the end its true faith and practice have become the only sure test and sign of refined manners and pure intelligence, not only in individuals, but throughout the species? And while intellect, learning, and humanity, have declined with its corruptions, and civilization has invariably advanced in the wake of Christianity, barbarism has attended and followed all other creeds. And that Christianity would be sustained for ever we have prophetic assurance in the continual advancement, purification, and discoveries of science—always approaching and constantly revealing confirmations of Scriptural evidence and faith; till reason and Divine revelation, which are one in truth, shall have established their essential conjunction in holy and eternal alliance. Nevertheless, as a disgrace to learning, it is to be deplored that the intolerant spirit of religious controversy should have occasioned, by a sort of common consent, the expulsion of religion from the social precincts of science; thereby degrading the sublimest of human knowledge, and rendering religion an outcast, for the sake of a truce that cannot promote a philosophic spirit, and will not fail, if persisted in, to effect the total neglect and extinction of religion among the learned. But the tie of reason and DIVINE Revelation is indissoluble, and they will not for ever suffer their first-born to be banished from the household of science. Upon the whole, we cannot doubt that the result of revelation and genuine philosophy will ever be found the same, each accomplishing the ends of Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, each confirming the same wise and benevolent plan, and holding out the same temporal and eternal advantages to mankind.”

As serving to indicate the design and subject of his “*Outlines*,” Mr. Field states that its earliest and constant incentive has been the desire of answering the very natural inquiry of every thinking being—what is the universe in which he finds himself? what are his relations therein? and what are the purposes of the whole? From the endlessly varied constitutions of mind in man, it is obvious that unanimity cannot distinguish the judgment which will be pronounced upon his execution of this most delicate and comprehensive enterprise. This, however, must be generally the sentiment of every person qualified, by education and study of Mr. F.’s doctrines, to pronounce an opinion on their merits—that he has executed his undertaking with the most commendable moderation in dealing with other systems, and with exemplary modesty and candour in advocating his new method of

"analogical philosophy." For our own parts, we cheerfully acknowledge our sincere gratification in applauding the pious and just philanthropy which pervades the scheme and development of his doctrine, with its prominent tendencies to the improvement of education, and the culture of pure religion in harmony with its rational and revealed foundations—its tendencies, indeed, to maintain religion in its natural and heaven-ordained supremacy of being the principal and inseparable object of instruction and discipline for Man, in all the stages of his journey through life, from the cradle to his grave. Mr. Field's "Outlines" manifestly belong to a class of writings elevated immeasurably above those gossiping and flimsy compilations which are exerting the spectral noxiousness of a nightmare in debasing the character of modern literature. His system is distinguished by the fairest lineaments of order and symmetry, of erudition and reflection; by comprehensiveness of design, consistency of elements, and completeness of demonstration. We foresee that it will supersede all others as a standard in guiding the ingenuous mind of youth in the attainment of a purified religious and scientific education—of right instruction in the principles of our national faith, and the philosophy of nature and truth.

OUTLINES OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE, RELATING TO THE NATURAL SCIENCES & PHILOSOPHY.

(Continued from page 354).

The Magazine of Natural History, and Journal of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Meteorology, conducted by Edward Charlesworth, F.G.S. 8vo, London, 1839.

SUPPLEMENTARY PLATES, SEPTEMBER, 1839.—These are numbered V, VI, VII, VIII, and IX of the series. The two first exhibit very interesting and admirable views of *Argonauta argo*, the paper nautilus, shewing the mode in which the shell is embraced by the animal's two palmated arms. On No. VII, are represented eleven shells from the crag, in Mr. S. V. Wood's cabinet: the whole are *Bullæ*, and seven in the list are new species—*Bulla quadrata*, *B. catenata*, *B. dilatata*, *B. ventrosa*, *B. concinna*, *B. subtruncata*, *B. olivula*; the remaining four being *B. lignaria*, *B. conulus*, *B. cylindracea*, and *B. obtusa*. No. xxxiii of the Magazine contains their descriptions.

No. xxxiv, OCTOBER, 1839.—With the first section of an excellent article on the natural history of *Cricetus frumentarius*, the marmot or hamster, Dr.

Weissenborn opens this month's publication; and he is followed by Mr. Clarke, with a fresh portion of his illustrations of the south-east Dorsetshire geology: they are accompanied by four graphic figures. Mr. Westwood communicates some descriptive observations on Hymenotes, a genus of exotic orthopterous insects: he describes four species—the *H. rhombea*, *H. triangularis*, *H. sagrai*, and *H. platycorys*, and represents their specific characters with six figures. A notice is furnished, by Mr. Wetherell, of some undescribed organic remains lately discovered in the London clay formation:—they are delineated in plates viii and ix of the “supplementary illustrations.” Next, you find four “reviews;” the last of which gives a brief account of Prof. Ehrenberg's magnificent work on the Infusoria or microscopic animalcules, which he regards as perfect organisms. From this review, you learn that the illustrious author has succeeded in establishing two great natural laws—1, that the animal organization is perfect in all its principal systems, to the extreme limit of vision, assisted by the most powerful microscopes; and 2, that the microscopic animalcules exercise a very great and direct influence on inorganic matter. We transcribe the following summary, as being abundantly curious and interesting to naturalists:—“1. Most, probably all, microscopic *animalcules*, are highly organized animals. 2. They form, according to their structure, two well-defined classes. 3. Their geographical distribution in four parts of the world follows the same laws as that of other animals. 4. They cause extensive volumes of water to be coloured in different ways, and occasion a peculiar phosphorescent scene of the sea by the light they develop. 5. They form a peculiar sort of living earth: and as 41,000,000 of them are often within the volume of *one cubic inch*, the absolute number of these *animalcules* is certainly greater than that of all other living creatures taken together; the aggregate volume is even likely to be in favour of the *animalcules*. 6. They possess the greatest power of generation known within the range of organic nature, one individual being able to procreate many millions within a few hours' time. 7. The *animalcules* form indestructible earths, stones, and rocks, by means of their siliceous *testæ*; with an admixture of lime or soda they may serve to prepare glass; they may be used for making floating bricks, which were previously known to the ancients; they serve as flints, as tripoli, as ochre, for manuring land, and for eating, in the shape of mountain meal, which fills the stomach with a harmless stay. They are sometimes injurious by killing fish in ponds, in making clear water turbid and in creating miasma; but that they give rise to the plague, *cholera morbus*, and other pestilential diseases, has never been shown in a credible manner. 8. As far as observation goes, the *animalcules* never sleep. 9. They exist as *Entozoa* in men and animals, the *Spermatozoa* not being taken into consideration here. 10. They themselves are infested with lice as well as *Entozoa*, and on the former, again, other parasites have been observed. 11. They are, in general, affected by external agents much in the same manner as the larger organic beings. 12. The microscopic *animalcules* being extremely light, they are elevated by the weakest currents, and often carried into the atmosphere. 13. Those observers who think they have seen how these minute creatures suddenly spring from inert matter, have altogether overlooked their complicated structure. 14. It has been found possible to refer to certain limits or organic laws the wonderful and constant changes of form which some of these *animalcules* present. 15. That the organism of these

animalcules is comparatively powerful, is evinced by the strength of their teeth and of their apparatus for mastication; they are also possessed of the same mental faculties as other animals. 16. The observation of these microscopic beings has led to a more precise definition of what constitutes an animal, as distinct from plants, in making us better acquainted with the systems of which the latter are destitute." This month's editorial article relates to the biography of Dr. Smith, "the father of English geology," to the proceedings of the British Association, to the supplement to M. Agassiz' fossil fish, and to an epistle of Sir James Alexander's concerning his African discoveries. You are then conducted to *November* by four "short communications," being a note on Dr. Smith's death, account of a migration of dragon-flies in Germany, the existence of a toad without food for three years, the capture of a large saw-fish, and the cuttings of the Eastern Counties' Railway.

No. XXXV., NOVEMBER.—M. Sander Rang, in a memoir on the Argonaut, adduces evidence in support of the following positions—that the ancient belief respecting the skilful manœuvres of the poulp of the argonaut in progressing, on the surface of the water, by the help of sails and oars, is false; that the arms, which are provided with membranes in the poulp, have no other function than that of enveloping the shell in which the animal lives, and that for a determinate object; that the poulp, with its shell, progresses in the open sea in the same manner as the other Cryptodibranchial cephalopods; and that, when at the bottom of the sea, the poulp creeps upon an infundibuliform disk represented by the junction of the arms at their base, covered with the shell, and the part reputed ventral above; having, in this posture, the appearance of a gasteropodous mollusc: it is represented in Plate VI of the supplementary illustrations. Another portion of Dr. Weissenborn's natural history of the Hamster, containing remarks on its propagation and its enemies, comes next; and then you have Mr. White's descriptions of two hemipterous insects—the *Graphasoma wilsoni*, and *Plataspis coracina*—with figures: to these, he adds notices of the *Coleotichus costatus*, *Calliphara bifaciata*, *Calidea parentum*, *Tectocoris childroni*, and *Caliprepes grayii*, briefly specifying their characters. In a continuation of his systematic Catalogue of the Fossil Plants of Britain, Mr. Morris registers forty species of the *Neuropteris*, and fourteen of the *Odontopteris*, designating their localities, and the books on mineral oryctography. Mr. Newman begins his Notes on Irish Natural History: this note relates chiefly to the alpine and palustrine ferns; next, from the pen of Mr. Jelly, comes an article on the fossil shells of the genus *Madiola*, frequently found in the Bath oölite, inclosed in the shells of the genus *Lithodomus*, with three well-defined figures in illustration; and you arrive at Mr. Bedford's account of the strata of Lincoln, from a recent survey, commencing north of the cathedral, and descending to the bed of the river: twenty-six beds are here distinguished. Mr. Couch offers some ingenious original remarks on the structure and habits of the *Holothuria physalis*, or Portuguese man-of-war: a valuable contribution to zoögraphy. One hundred and four specimens are enregistered in Mr. Flower's catalogue of some of the most interesting plants collected in the neighbourhood of Swansea during the last summer: and, from the contemplation of these, you proceed to the ten short communications, on which you may keep pondering until the arrival of

NO. XXXVI, DECEMBER, which concludes the third volume, *new series*, of the Magazine of Natural History. Mr. Newman resumes his notes on the Irish ferns, and intersperses them with numerous agreeable and usefully descriptive observations; and, with an account of the animal's hybernation, injury, and use, and methods of destruction, Prof. Weissenborn completes his natural history of the hamster. Mr. Thompson succeeds, not inappropriately, with zoological notes on a few species obtained from the south-west of Scotland. These are, *Sorex castaneus*, the chestnut shrew; *Arvicola pratensis*, the bank vole; *Lestris pomarinus*, the pomarine skua; *Gobius bipunctatus*, the two-spotted goby; *Labrus variabilis*, the variable wrasse; *Liparis montagui*; *Syngnathus equoreus*, the sequeoreal pipe-fish; *S. lumbriciformis*, the worm pipe-fish; *Octopus octopodia*, the eight-armed cuttle; *Lithodes maja*, the horrid crab; *Porcellana longicornis*, the long-horned crab; *Galathea strigosa*, the plaited lobster; and *G. rugosa*, the long-clawed lobster. Mr. Birch's article on the monkeys known to the Chinese, from the native authorities, forms the first section of a very curious communication: and this is followed by an additional portion of Mr. Waterhouse's observations on the Rodentia, with a view to point out the groups as indicated by the structure of the crania, in this order of the mammalians: he treats here of the *Arvicolidae*, which constitute his fifth family, giving seventeen figures in illustration. Mr. Buist contributes a short but distinct description of the pupa of the *Nereides littoralis*, with two graphic representations; and these bring you to the six "short communications" to the close of MDCCCXXXIX.

The London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science; conducted by Sir David Brewster, F.R.S. Richard Taylor, F.G.S. and Richard Phillips, F.G.S. 8vo, London, 1839.

OCTOBER, MDCCCXXXIX.—Mr. Lyell introduces you to the philosophy of this month with an important descriptive communication on the tubular Cavities filled with gravel and sand, called *Sand-Pipes*, in the Chalk near Norwich, with three very fine illustrative sketches. From the facts detailed by him, Mr. L. concludes—that the chalk had been removed by the corroding action of water charged with acid; that the excavation and filling of the pipes were gradual and contemporaneous processes; and that the strata of the Norwich crag had been already deposited upon the chalk before the excavation of the sand-pipes. A memoir on the use of a secondary wire as a measure of the relative tension of electric currents, is furnished by Prof. Draper, and illustrated with figures and tables. Six figures illustrate the next article, which is—observations by Mr. Craig on the Configuration of the scales of Butterflies' wings, as exhibited in the microscope. Four short papers follow; they are titled—a new method of distinguishing arsenic from antimony, in cases of suspected poisoning by the former substance, by Mr. Marsh; an account of a few independent notices of America by middle-age writers, by Mr. Halliwell; Mr. Rigg's correction of Prof. Thomson's corollary; and Prof. Kersten's notice respecting Lanthanum. You then have a valuable paper of Mr. Grove's on a small voltaic battery possessing great

energy; on voltaic combinations and forms of arrangement; and on the inactivity of a copper positive electrode in nitro-sulphuric acid; with a plate. Next in order, stands Mr. Williams' observations on the geological position of the Culm and Plant-bearing beds of Devon and Cornwall. Another section of Col. Wright's meteorological observations, includes a contribution of the same kind from Prof. Jameson; and these elaborate tables are followed by an ingenious prize-essay of Mr. Ferguson's on the cause of the Holes that perforate sheets of melting ice. The next articles are Mr. Thompson's on the separation of lime from magnesia, and on the assay of gold; and Mr. Drach's on the use of barometrical formulæ for determining the heights of mountains. For proceeding of learned institutions, those of the Royal Society are fully given: they are numerous and very valuable. The intelligence and miscellanies consist of six articles; and, with these and the meteorological observations, this Month's contributions to Science are completed.

NOVEMBER.—Prof. De Morgan's rule for finding the value of an annuity on three lives, is the first paper in this month's publication. The next is the conclusion of Dr. Draper's memoir on the use of a secondary wire as a measure of the relative tension of electric currents, with nine illustrative tables. Prof. Forbes' interesting communication on the application of Electro-magnetism as a motive power, would lead to the hope that ere long this power may be employed extensively and effectually in propelling engines and ships: Mr. Davidson of Aberdeen has made great progress in perfecting machines for rail-roads, on this new principle. Mr. Lubbock gives an elaborate development of his views on the wave-surface in the theory of double refraction; and, after this, which exhibits some remarks of Mr. L.'s respecting the existence of axes of elasticity, Dr. Faraday communicates the fifteenth series of his experimental researches in electricity: in this section of his inquiries, the illustrious electrician contributes a most curious and important notice of the character and direction of the electric force of the *Gymnotus*: he has attained every proof of the identity of the animal's power with common electricity. Mr. Cooper sends a paper of observations on shooting stars; and this precedes another division of Col. Wright's meteorological observations in Colombia; and this again precedes Prof. Forbes' letter on the polarization of heat. In a note to the Editors, Mr. Towson distinguishes the proper focus for the "*Daguerreotype*," a monkey-looking, horrid-sounding term for the art of photography: he explains this as an important fact which has hitherto escaped observation. A continuation of Mr. Ivory's Bakerian lecture follows: in this, he treats of the theory of astronomical refractions, and subordinately on atmosphere of air mixed with aqueous vapour. Those of the "Geological" are recorded for the proceedings of learned societies: the report is copious, and embraces a diversity of instructive outlines of papers. Four articles of intelligence and miscellanies bring you to the meteorological observations and table, with which the "*November*" is concluded.

Annals of Natural History: or Magazine of Zoology, Botany, and Geology; conducted by Sir W. Jardine, Bart., P. J. Selby, Esq., Dr. Johnston, Sir W. J. Hooker, and Richard Taylor, F.L.S. 8vo, London, 1839, with graphic illustrations.

No. XXII, OCTOBER, MDCCCXXXIX.—Prof. C. Morren introduces the *Annals* of this month with an admirable essay on the *Discoid Piths* of plants. He illustrates his interesting subject with a finely executed plate representing sections of the *Begonia argyrostigma*, *Juglans regia*, *Jasminum fruticans* and *Phytolacca decandra*, which exhibit very beautiful appearances under the microscope. The first portion of Dr. Philippi's *Zoological Notices* forms the second article, containing five contributions to natural history. 1, Two new species, the *frondosus* and *cirriger*, of *Euplocamus* described. 2, Remarks on the animal of *Pileopsis garnoti* which "differs essentially from the *Patella*-shell." 3, On the animal of *Galeomma*, the *Parthenope formosa* of Scacchi, in his zoological observations. 4, On the *Oculina ramea* and its inhabitant. 5, On the *Chelura terebrans* a new amphipod, here minutely characterized. Next come additional extracts from Mr. Tweedie's rough Notes of a Journey across the Pampas to Tucuman in 1835—communicating much valuable botanical information. After this, Mr. Maclean's route from Lima, by the Quebrada of San Mateo, is exhibited in a tabular form, with thermometrical and hygrometrical notations. Mr. A. Cunningham* gives another portion of his *Botany of the New Zealand islands*: this makes the number of his species 622; and, in a foot-note, six rare or uncharacterized species of *Pittosporum* are described. Four bibliographical notices are followed by the proceedings of the Zoological, Botanical, and Wernerian Societies, and the British Association for the advancement of science. Three miscellanies, with the meteorological observations and table, bring you to

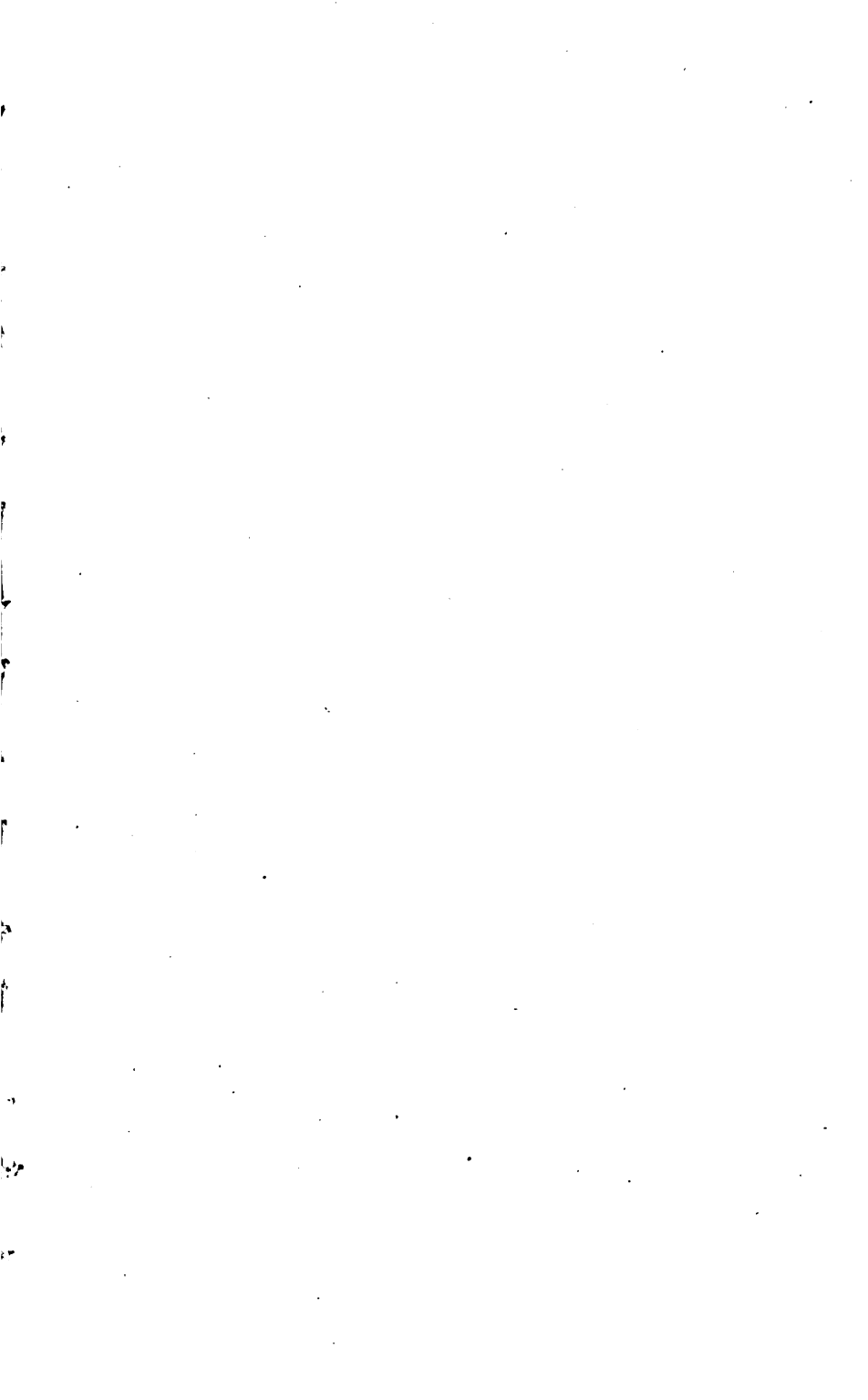
No. XXXIII, NOVEMBER; and, at the head of its contents, you find M. von Baër's curious description of *Animal Life* in *Nova Zembla*, from personal observation. Next in the list, stand Mr. Berkeley's remarks on the *Lycopodon*, *Phallus*, and their allied genera, with a plate illustrative of their fructification, and exhibiting twenty-six figures, all, except the nineteenth, more or less highly magnified. Under the title, *Horæ Zoologicae*, Sir William Jardine proposes to bring together, in a series of short papers, the zoological information which may occasionally come into his possession; and, for a commencement, he furnishes the practical observations of Mr. Kirk, a correspondent, on the history and habits of the *Crotophaga*, for some reason, denominated the "*Old Wife*" in the West India islands. Another section of Mr. Tweedie's extracts from *Rough Notes of a Journey across the Pampas of Buenos Ayres to Tucuman, in 1835*, brings the account of observations

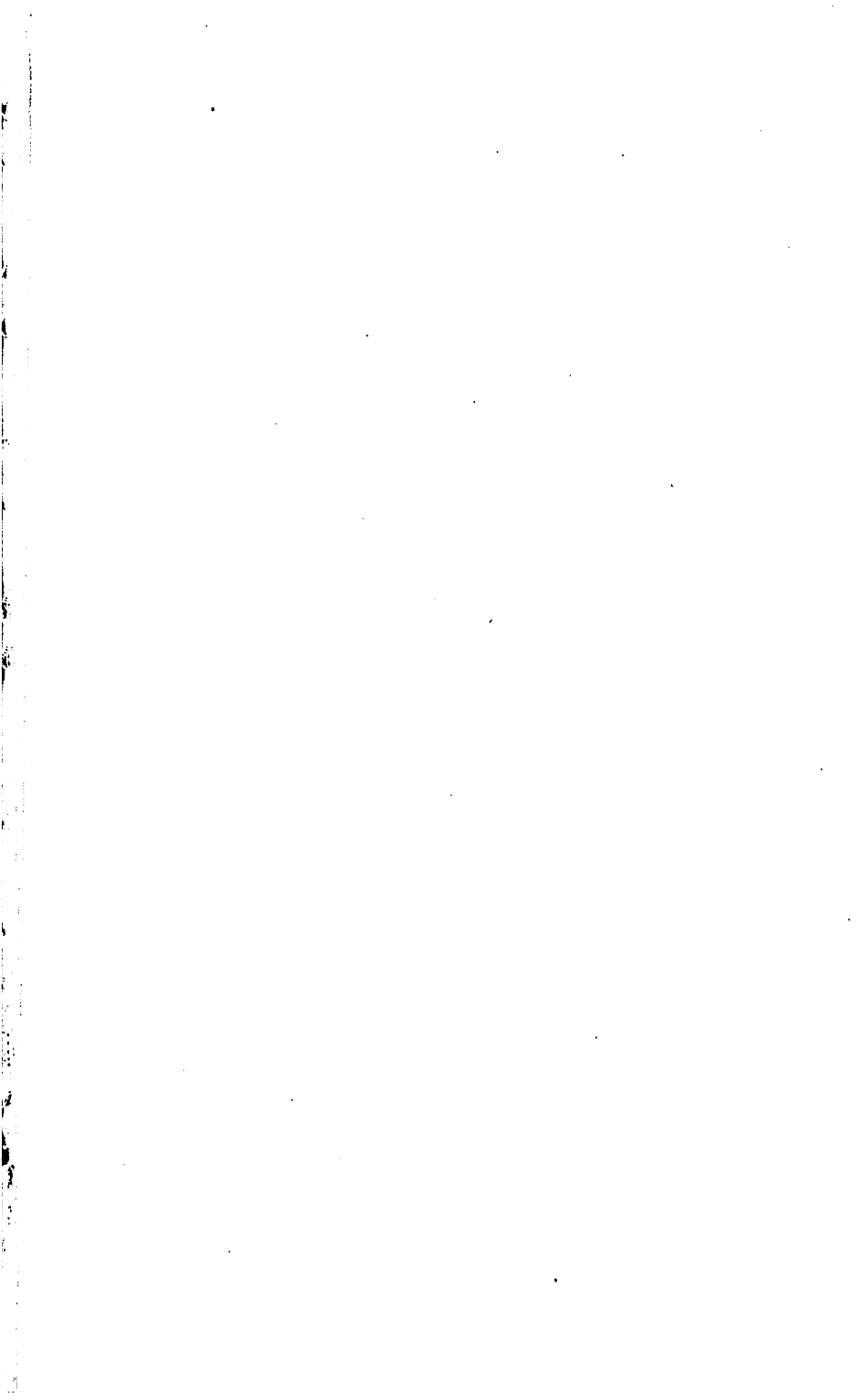
* It is with much regret we announce the death of Allan Cunningham, Esq., the botanist and traveller, who departed this life at Sydney, New South Wales, on the 27th of June, in the 48th year of his age, after a lengthened illness, which he contracted during the rainy season in New Zealand in 1838, whither he had gone on a botanical excursion, previous to his intended return to England with the result of many years' journeyings.—NEWSPAPER.

and adventures to a conclusion. From Dr. Wight's researches, you derive a valuable communication on the *Laurus cassia* of Linnaeus, and the plants producing the cassia-bark of commerce: it is produced, he believes, "by nearly every species of the genus." Mr. Lyell's paper on the discovery, in the Cranbourn crag, of fossil teeth of a leopard, bear, and other animals, is illustrated by six figures; and this is followed by another from the same naturalist, on the occurrence of fossil quadrumanous, marsupial, and other mammalians, in the London clay, near Woodbridge. Mr. Owen then describes some mammalian remains found at Kyson; these are, the molar of a *Macacus*; a portion of a jaw, with one of the false molars, of a mammiferous species, probably allied to the *Didelphys*; and two molars of a small mammalian, most nearly resembling those of the insectivorous bats; represented in five figures. As information-respecting botanical travellers, you have an account of Mr. Schomburgh's recent expedition in Guiana; this most enterprising and fortunate naturalist has arrived in England in safety. In bibliography, there are three notices; and then come the proceedings of the zoological and botanical societies. Four miscellanies follow, and the number for this month closes, as usual, with the meteorological observations and table.

. We regret to be compelled to omit, for want of space, analytical notices of "The Phrenological Journal and Magazine of Moral Science," the "Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal," and the "Annales des Sciences Naturelles." They shall, however, be attended to in our next number.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.





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